

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1363545-0

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**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: Graham, Frank Porter



FEDERAL

INVESTIGATION

BUREAU OF

PERSONNEL SECURITY QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS - All sections must be completed - Write none when applicable - Type or print all answers. If space not adequate for complete answers, attach a supplemental sheet to this form.

| | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|---|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| 1. NAME (Last, First, Middle) Graham, Frank Porter No. 1 | | 8. DESCRIPTION (Check which) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALE <input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE | | | | |
| 2. OTHER NAMES (Include maiden name, if married woman) | | RACE | HEIGHT | WEIGHT | COLOR EYES | COLOR HAIR |
| | | White | 5'5" | 165 | Blue | Gray |
| 3. NORMAL HOME ADDRESS OR PRINCIPAL RESIDENCE FOR PAST 15 YEARS 402 E. Franklin St., Chapel Hill, N. C. | | 6. (Check which) <input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE <input type="checkbox"/> DIVORCED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> WIDOW(ER) | | 7. BIRTH DATE DAY MONTH YEAR 14 Oct. 1896 | | |
| 4. ALL OTHER PERMANENT ADDRESSES FOR PAST 15 YEARS. (Apt. or R.F.D. No., Street, City, State, and dates there) | | 8. BIRTHPLACE (City, County, State or Country) Fayetteville (Cumberland) North Carolina | | | | |
| <p>30 100 100</p> <p>Letter to Charlotte, N.C. cc'd to Charlotte, N.C. 9-20-47 H.E.T. [Signature]</p> <p>RE INVESTIGATION</p> | | 9. CITIZENSHIP USA IF NATURALIZED: DATE CERTIFICATE NUMBER PLACE IF ALIEN: PORT OF ENTRY DATE ALIEN REGISTRATION NUMBER | | | | |
| | | 10. DRAFT CLASSIFICATION BOARD NO. AND ADDRESS | | | | |
| | | 11. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. | | | | |
| | | 12. MILITARY SERVICE SERIAL NUMBER BRANCH FROM TO (Yr.) | | | | |
| | | LEGAL RESIDENCE WHEN DISCHARGED SE 34 30356 - RECORDED F B I | | | | |
| | | 40 AUG 25 1947 | | | | |
| | | 13. EDUCATION (All schools above elementary) | | | | |
| | | NAME OF SCHOOL ADDRESS FROM TO (Yr.) DEGREE | | | | |
| | | Univ. of N.C. Carolina Chapel Hill, N. C. 1905 1909 Bachelor of Arts | | | | |
| | | Columbia University (See attached sheet) New York City 1909-10 and 1912-13 1915 1916 Law Student (N.C. License) Master of Arts | | | | |
| 14. EMPLOYMENT (List all employment and dates) | | | | | | |
| DATE | TYPE OF WORK | NAME OF EMPLOYER (COMPANY OR ORGANIZATION) | | ADDRESS (where employed) | | |
| 1910-1912 | Instructor | State of North Carolina | | Raleigh (N.C.) High School | | |
| 1913-1915 | Secretary YMCA (See attached page) | State of North Carolina | | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill | | |

14. EMPLOYMENT (Cont'd.)

| DATE | TYPE OF WORK | NAME OF EMPLOYER (COMPANY OR ORGANIZATION) | ADDRESS (where employed) |
|-------|--|--|--------------------------------|
| 1914- | | | |
| 1915 | Instructor | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1919- | (History) | | |
| 1921 | Asst. Professor | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1919- | (History) | | |
| 1920 | Dean of Students | State of North Carolina | Univ., of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1921- | | | |
| 1922 | Assoc. Professor | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1925- | (History) | | |
| 1927 | Associate Professor | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1927- | | | |
| 1930 | Full Professor | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1930- | | | |
| ----- | President | State of North Carolina | Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill |
| 1941- | | | |
| 1942 | Member, Nat'l De- fense Mediation Bd. | Federal Government | Labor Dept., Washington, D. C. |
| 1942- | | | |
| 1945 | Pub.Mem., Nat'l War Labor Board | Federal Government | Labor Dept., Washington, D. C. |
| 1942- | | | |
| 1946 | Member, Maritime War Emergency Bd. | Federal Government | Commerce Bldg., Washington, DC |

15. FOREIGN COUNTRIES VISITED (Since 1930) (Exclusive of military service)

| COUNTRY | DATE LEFT U.S.A. | DATE RET'D U.S.A. | PURPOSE |
|---------|------------------|-------------------|---------|
| None | | | |
| | | | |
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| | | | |

13.

EDUCATION (All schools above elementary) Continued

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---------|-----------|
| University of Chicago | Chicago, Illinois | 1922-23 | No degree |
| Brookings Institute | Washington, D. C. | 1923-24 | No degree |
| London School of Economics | London, England | 1924-25 | No degree |

NAME, ADDRESS, TYPE (Inclusive dates and any office held)

During the past fifteen years I have belonged to hundreds of committees. In addition to professional and educational committees which are a necessary part of University service, I joined eight other types of committees, all of which follow the American democratic line.

- (1) Against the Hitler-Musolini-Franco combination in Spain.
- (2) Against Russian invasion of Finland.
- (3) Aid to Britain and France against the Molotov-Ribbentrop Russian-German Pact.
- (4) Aid to China and against sending scrap-iron to Japan.
- (5) Salute to the Russian Army for holding the fort against Hitler at Moscow and Stalingrad.
- (6) For the United Nations and the Marshall Plan.
- (7) For civil liberties and for academic and intellectual freedom.
- (8) Regional committees and conferences for human welfare against the poll tax, against the white primary, for federal aid to the states for the schools, against discriminatory freight rates, for the rights of organized labor and the tenant farmers and farmers' cooperatives, and for the revival of religious teachings and spiritual interpretation of life.

17.

RELATIVES (parents, spouse, children, brothers and sisters, living or dead)

| RELATION | NAME IN FULL | ADDRESS | COUNTRY OF BIRTH | PRESENT CITIZENSHIP |
|----------|------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Father | Alexander Graham | Deceased | U. S. | |
| Mother | Katherine Sloan Graham | Deceased | U. S. | |
| Brother | Neill Graham | Deceased | U. S. | |
| Brother | David Graham | Killed in action, Belleau Woods | | |
| Brother | A. W. Graham | Chiselm, Minnesota | U. S. | U. S. |
| Brother | George Graham | Atlanta, Georgia | U. S. | U. S. |
| Sister | Kate Graham Sanders | Chapel Hill, N. C. | U. S. | U. S. |
| Sister | Hattie Graham | Charlotte, North Carolina | U. S. | U. S. |
| Sister | Mary Graham | Charlotte, North Carolina | U. S. | U. S. |
| Sister | Ann Graham Shanks | Birmingham, Alabama | U. S. | U. S. |
| Wife | Marian Drane Graham | Chapel Hill, North Carolina | U. S. | U. S. |

18. REFERENCES (Name three persons, not relatives or employers, who are well acquainted with you)

| NAME | ADDRESS | YEARS KNOWN |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Judge John J. Parker | U.S. Circuit Court, Charlotte, N. C. | 42 |
| Mr. C. W. Tillett | Law Building, Charlotte, N. C. | 50 |
| Mr. E. D. Battle | Rocky Mount, North Carolina | 43 |

19. ARRESTS (Include all arrests and fines other than minor traffic violations)

| CHARGE | DATE | PLACE WHERE ARRESTED | DISPOSITION |
|--------|------|----------------------|-------------|
| None | | | |

CERTIFICATION

I CERTIFY THAT THE INFORMATION CONTAINED ABOVE IS CORRECT AND COMPLETE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL INVESTIGATE THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN, AND THAT ANY FALSE STATEMENT IS SUFFICIENT CAUSE FOR REJECTION OF THE APPLICATION OR DISMISSAL AFTER APPOINTMENT.

August 2, 1977 Frank P. Graham

DATE

USUAL SIGNATURE OR MARK OF EMPLOYEE (Sign Original Only)

TO BE FILLED OUT BY AGENCY OR FIRM EMPLOYING

AGENCY OR FIRM TO EMPLOY APPLICANT

ADDRESS

BRIEF JOB DESCRIPTION (Job Title, Duties and Location - Description should not reveal classified information)

WILL APPLICANT HAVE ACCESS TO RESTRICTED DATA?

☐ YES ☐ NO

(Check the one block applicable)

☒ FINGERPRINT CARD ATTACHED☐ T - 1 ATTACHED (RESULTS OF FBI FINGERPRINT FILE CHECK)☐ FBI IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

DO NOT COMPLETE SPACE BELOW

REFERRED TO F.B.I.

RECEIVED FROM F.B.I.

W. J. Pullen
SIGNATURE OF APPROVING AUTHORITY (OFFICIAL OF EMPLOYING COMPANY
CERTIFYING AUTHORITY OF EMPLOYMENT

(Photostat)
material for
file
by #EC

NED
permitted

116-30356-1

ENCLOSURE

File 5-4
1

116-30356

9-20-47

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

SAC, Washington Field

RE: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927

ATOMIC ENERGY ACT - APPLICANT ()
EMPLOYEE ()

Dear Sir:

You are instructed to conduct an immediate, thorough, discreet investigation concerning the character, associations, and loyalty of the above-named individual in accordance with the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The original and four copies of the report are to be transmitted to the Bureau by special delivery, and by air mail unless ordinary mail is equally speedy, so as to reach the Bureau not later than 10-22-47.

Present address:

Birthdate and birthplace:

Race:

Social Security Number:

Record from Manhattan Engineer District or

Atomic Energy Commission: None () Attached ()

Record from Identification Division: None () Attached ()

Record from Bureau files: None () Attached ()

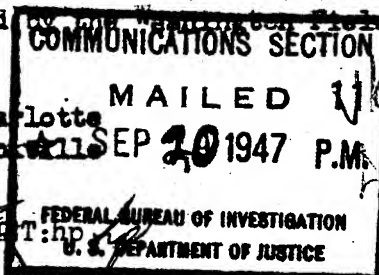
Position involved:

WASHINGTON FIELD AND CHARLOTTE: Incorporate in instant case pertinent information appearing in the investigation entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD, INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT" (Washington Field file #101-2644 and Charlotte file #101-24). (100-23300-9,14)

Charlotte will note pertinent information with reference to Graham in the investigation entitled "SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, INTERNAL SECURITY-C". (Charlotte file #100-451) (100-10355-158)

ATTENTION ALL OFFICES: Enclosed are photostatic copies of the CIC report on Dr. Frank Porter Graham which, as will be noted, includes a summary of information from the Bureau files. Pertinent information in the CIC investigation will be reported by the Washington Field Office.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____



Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Repost from Knoxville
Rec'd 10-21-47

10/22/47 W.F.O. called. Will submit rpt. by 10/25/47. Teletype to Charlotte to Serial date rpt. submitted 8/22/47.

Tel Chair 11-5-47

71 NOV 13 1947

Rept from Knox 10-21-47

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 1 1947

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

FBI KNOXVILLE

10-1-47

6-20 PM EST

RNB

DIRECTOR

U R G E N T

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM DASH ONE, AEAE. REBULET SEPTEMBER TWENTY LAST.
EXAMINATION OF BULET AND ~~REDACTED~~ ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL REFLECTS NO
LEAD FOR KNOXVILLE DIVISION. REQUEST ADVISE

ACK AND HOLD PLS

6-25 PM OK FBI WASH DC JT

PSG (which was furnished to Knox.) static is played as this - oak house installed 9 Nuclear studies with access to all areas.
BATICCHIO
EX-129

RECORDED

32 OCT 4 1947

116-30356-2

*116-30356-2
Knoxville
10-2-47*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 2 1947

TELETYPE

FBI WASHINGTON DC 10-2-47 4-26 PM JT

SAC, KNOXVILLE U R G E N T

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM DASH ONE, AEA. REURTEL OCTOBER ONE LAST.
PSQ STATES EMPLOYMENT AS PRESIDENT, OAK RIDGE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR
STUDIES, ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE, WITH
ACCESS TO ALL AREAS.

HOOVER

PLS A AND H

OK FBI KX RNB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-1

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

OCTOBER 2, 1947

Transmit the following message to:

SAC, KNOXVILLE

URGENT TELETYPE

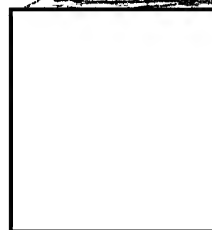
RECORDED 116-30356-2

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM DASH ONE, ABAE. REURTEL OCTOBER ONE LAST. PSQ STATES
EMPLOYMENT AS PRESIDENT, OAK RIDGE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR STUDIES, ADMINISTRATION
BUILDING, OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE, WITH ACCESS TO ALL AREAS.

HOOVER

HET:md
116-30356

[Handwritten signature]



b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 2 1947

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

SENT VIA

M

Per

67674

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 116-9564

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|----|
| REPORT MADE AT KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE | DATE WHEN MADE 10-14-47 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 10-8,9-47 | REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div> | RC |
| TITLE FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927 | | | CHARACTER OF CASE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT- EMPLOYEE | |
| SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: REFERENCE: Bureau File 116-30356. Bureau letter to Washington dated 9-20-47. | | | AGENCY <i>Photo - CIA</i> REQ. REC'D <i>6-1-54</i> REP'T FORW. <i>6-23-54</i> BY <i>WAL - det</i> | |
| DETAILS: <u>AT OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE</u> Dr. W. G. POLLARD, Acting Executive Director and Treasurer, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc., advised that he has been acquainted with employee for approximately two years during which time GRAHAM has been associated with the Institute. GRAHAM was elected President by the Board of Directors on October 17, 1946 but has never been actually employed at Oak Ridge. Employee has remained as President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina and has made only occasional visits to Oak Ridge. According to POLLARD, GRAHAM is noted for being one of the leading liberals of the south, promoting better labor relations, racial relations, etc. It is POLLARD's understanding that GRAHAM was one of the founders of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare but he is unable to furnish any additional information concerning this matter. POLLARD advised that employee held some very important posts during the last war and was the public's member of the National War Labor Board. At the present time GRAHAM is President TRUMAN's appointee to represent the United States on the Board of Arbitration to settle the Dutch-Indonesian question. POLLARD considers employee's loyalty, character, and reputation to be above reproach and he has formed the opinion that GRAHAM is devoted to the United States and its National interests. According to POLLARD, when questions regarding security relations came up, GRAHAM always seemed most anxious to cooperate with existing | | | AGENCY <i>Photo - H. P. Hall</i> REQ. REC'D <i>12-17-54</i> REP'T FORW. <i>12-31-54</i> BY <i>WHP - det</i> | |
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | | | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES | |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT (5) Bureau (Pensd) 2- Knoxville | | | 116-30356-3 JOINTED H-X | |
| COPY IN FILE 200 REC'D 10-27-47 | | | SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION. | |

b7C

60 NOV 10 1947 29 ABC

FPI-LK-7-11-47-900M-4927

67675

Kx 116-9564

Atomic Energy Commission regulations. POLLARD concluded by stating that in his opinion GRAHAM is a loyal and patriotic American.

It is noted that Dr. POLLARD is the only person contacted at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, who was sufficiently acquainted with employee to make any statements regarding GRAHAM's loyalty, character, and associations.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

FILE NO. 116-10420

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|--|--|
| REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C. | DATE WHEN MADE 10/23/47 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 10/18, 21-23/47 | REPORT MADE BY [Redacted] LWB:lis |
| TITLE FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927 | | | CHARACTER OF CASE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT EMPLOYEE |

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

COPIES: Dept of Ag
REQ. REC'D 9-5-61
SEP 18 1961
ANS.
BY: KMK CS

Photo - White House
10-13-51 - [Redacted]

pg. 4 retyped to delete mention
of 5/26/43 memo - DRR

REFERENCES:

Bureau File No. 116-30356.
Bureau letter dated September 20, 1947;
Knoxville Teletype dated October 10, 1947.

AGENCY Photo - 11-5-47
REQ. REC'D 12-17-54
REP'T FORW. 12-31-54
BY: WHIP-dab

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

EMPLOYMENT

AGENCY Photo - [Redacted]
REQ. REC'D 6-1-59
REP'T FORW. 6-23-59
BY: Wal-dab

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent

[Redacted]

Mr. [Redacted], Department of Labor, made available a personnel file on FRANK PORTER GRAHAM which reflected that GRAHAM was appointed member of the National Defense Mediation Board, representing the public, by the President, on March 29, 1941. The National Defense Mediation Board was succeeded, on January 12, 1942, by the National War Labor Board, and Mr. GRAHAM was continued in the same office. The file reflects that GRAHAM tendered his resignation, which was accepted, on December 27, 1945, effective December 31, 1945, the last working day having been October 16, 1945.

This file contains reference to the fact that GRAHAM was appointed a member of the Maritime War Emergency Board on January 4, 1942. Although no official records of the Maritime War Emergency Board could be

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature] | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT (3) - Bureau 2 - Washington Field | | 116-30356-4 SE 34 RECORDED EX-89 |
| 31 OCT 28 1947 FBI | | |

2cc HEC 10/25/47 ABE
2cc HEC 10/25/47 HATCH
8-10-43, Wash. 40. } Info sheet
repared by [Redacted] summarized

WFO #116-10420

located at appropriate sources, it was the common recollection of officials of the Department of Labor and of the Maritime Commission, that GRAHAM was a member of the Maritime War Emergency Board concurrently with his membership on the National War Labor Board, continuing his membership on the Maritime War Emergency Board for somewhat less than one year following his resignation from the National War Labor Board.

The records of the United States Conciliation Service reflect that GRAHAM was appointed member of the Oil Fact-Finding Board on November 27, 1945, and served until January 22, 1946, when the Board was terminated.

The records of the United States Conciliation Service further reflect that GRAHAM was appointed Consultant, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, effective January 1, 1939, executing an oath of office on January 9, 1939. Such appointment was cancelled on February 26, 1940, GRAHAM having advised the Children's Bureau that he had never served in such capacity.

The following investigation was conducted by the reporting Agent:

Mr. [REDACTED], State Department, advised that the employee is the American member of a three-power committee known as "The Good Offices Committee," created by a resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations on August 25, 1947. For this committee, the Netherlands chose Belgium and Indonesia chose Australia. Belgium and Australia chose the United States as the third power comprising the committee. GRAHAM's appointment by President TRUMAN as American member of the committee was apparently at the recommendation of [REDACTED].

b7C

Mr. [REDACTED] stated that GRAHAM and the Belgian member, name unknown, left New York City about October 15, 1947, and are now at Sydney, Australia, where they will be joined by the Australian member. GRAHAM is accompanied by [REDACTED] Division of Southeast Asia Affairs, State Department, and [REDACTED] Division of International Security, State Department. The committee will go to Batavia, Netherlands East Indies, and then to Jogjakarta, capital of the Indonesian Republic, apparently to study both sides of the Dutch-Indonesian question. The power of the committee is limited to making recommendations to the United Nations.

NEIGHBORHOOD

The Congressional Directory reflects that while in Washington, D. C., the employee stayed at the Hotel Washington, and had no established local residence.

MISCELLANEOUS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

Dr. [REDACTED] Atomic Energy Commission, advised that he has known FRANK PORTER GRAHAM for several years, having been particularly associated with him in their mutual connection with the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc. Dr. [REDACTED] describes GRAHAM as a sincere liberal who has expressed himself as being devoted to the cause of advancing the welfare of the human race. [REDACTED] said that as a result, GRAHAM will lend his energies, reputation and services to any organization, group or body, the aims and purposes of which coincide with his ideas on the advancement of the human race. Dr. [REDACTED] said that from his conversations and discussions with GRAHAM, he feels that even if GRAHAM knew that any such organizations, groups or bodies were dominated or even controlled by extreme liberals such as members of the Communist Party, that nevertheless GRAHAM would continue to lend his energies, reputation and services insofar, but only insofar, as the organization was advancing the cause of human welfare.

When asked whether he thought GRAHAM would remain in such an organization if he realized that its aims and purposes were the illegal overthrow of the Government, Dr. [REDACTED] said that he did not know how GRAHAM would act, but believed that he probably would forsake such an organization. b7C

Dr. [REDACTED] said that in his conversations and discussions with GRAHAM, that GRAHAM has stated that he will associate with organizations which are pro-Russian if such organizations work for the advancement of human welfare.

Dr. [REDACTED] said that he wished to make clear that he considered that GRAHAM does not espouse the cause of Communism and in fact has declared himself to hate Communists and Communism. He said that he believes GRAHAM is so devoted to his avowed cause of advancing human welfare that he will seize every opportunity to do such, realizing however all the time that certain persons and organizations concurrently with the purpose of advancing human welfare will also seek to advance the cause of Communism, but that GRAHAM will carefully distinguish the two lines of endeavor and will confine his activities only to the extent of advancing the cause of human welfare. Dr. [REDACTED] said that he unreservedly considers GRAHAM a good security risk and feels that GRAHAM is utterly sincere in his liberalism. He said that he would unhesitatingly recommend that GRAHAM be maintained in his position as President of the corporation.

The following investigation was conducted by the reporting Agent:

An article in the Washington, D. C. Times Herald under date of May 6, 1942, reflected that the name FRANK P. GRAHAM was included in a long list of sponsors for a special recital to be given by PAUL ROBESON at Riverside Stadium. This news item reflected that the entire proceeds of the concert were to be given to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee.

In addition to that set forth in the body of this report, further information pertaining to the employee appears in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 10, 1943, at Washington, b7C D. C., entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - National War Labor Board, Internal Security - Hatch Act," and in a memorandum dated May 26, 1943, entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM," which report and memorandum are being made available separately. It is noted that the above-mentioned report and memorandum contain information concerning the Highlander Folk School.

INTELLIGENCE RECORDS

The files of the Military Intelligence Division contain the following information regarding the employee:

"Frank P. GRAHAM was a member of the council of the 'Council Against Intolerance in America'. This organization has the following record:

"Sent protest to President Truman against granting citizenship to German scientists brought to the U. S. for Government work. This is a direct contradiction of the motto of the above organization.

"Dr. Henry A. Atkinson who is head of the above organization has the following record:

"1942; Sponsor of the Joint Anti Fascist Refugee Committee which is a Communist-controlled group which paid Gerhardt Eisler \$150.00 per month for his work. In 1945 Atkinson was on the Board of Directors for the 'Americans United for World Organization' which is the successor to the American Free World Association. This organization is run by a Rumanian, Eastern European and French Communist named Louis Dolivet, alias Ludwig Bretcher, alias Ilcianu, alias Urdeanu, alias Louis le Grande, who is, under all aliases, a member of the 3rd International and was denaturalized in France in 1940. Dolivet ran the above organization which published 'Free

Not classified per Army
letter dated 8-15-78.
JSP/efg. 10-30-78.

World', which has now merged with two other magazines in a new monthly venture called 'United Nations World', which adheres strictly to the Communist Party Line.

"Other members of the Council against Intolerance in America are Evans Clark, [redacted] Helen Gahagan Douglas, William H. b7C Hastie, John Haynes Holmes, [redacted] Robert Morss Lovett, Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop G. Bromley Oxman, Quentin Reynolds, Herbert Bayard Swope, Rexford Guy Tugwell, Walter White and Ray Lyman Wilbur. Most of the foregoing are either fellow travelers or outright Communists according to their past and present records.

"The Council Against Intolerance in America has given awards to such people as Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, Anthropologists and outright Communists by reason of their actions and admittances. Dr. Albert Einstein, another member of the aforementioned organization has a long record of pro-Communist activities and recently admitted, and was quoted by a Paris newspaper, that he was a Communist.

"Frank GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina founded the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This organization is a well-known Communist front, definitely identified as such by Earl Browder, James A. Ford, Communist candidates for President and Vice President, who spoke of it and the Southern Negro Youth Conference as follows:

'The Communists, through their pioneering work in the South, may justly claim to have laid the foundation for these great social movement.'

"Further, the Southern Conference is widely known to have consistently followed the Communist Party Line, and its president, Clark Foreman, is such a trusted and willing tool of the Communist Party that he is regarded by informants as a secret member of the Party.

"GRAHAM also signed a statement issued by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting commissioning of Communists in the U. S. Army.

"GRAHAM is also the Chairman of the 'Nation Associates' an organization of which Freda Kirchwey is president. Freda Kirchwey is a known fellow traveler adhering strictly to the Communist Party Line. One of the Vice Chairman is Dr. Henry A. Atkinson who has been previously mentioned in this report. Other members of this organization include many fellow travelers and Communist party members."

Not Classifiable per Army letter
dated 8-15-78. JSP/dfa 10-30-78

A check of the records of the Office of Naval Intelligence reflected that the information contained therein consists of information previously furnished that agency by the Military Intelligence Division.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

On October 23, 1947, Special Agent [] caused a search to be made of the files of the above-captioned committee and obtained the following information:

b7C

Elected Honorary President for 1947-1948 of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 12, 1947. Signed statement by that organization in Daily Worker on May 20, 1947

Member, National Committee, Friends of Democracy, Inc., October 30, 1945 and June 18, 1947

Sponsor of dinner given by "Soviet Russia Today," celebrating 25th Anniversary of Red Army (1943)

Vice-Chairman and National Committeeman of American Civil Liberties Union, 170 5th Avenue, New York City (1945)

Sponsor of League of Young Southerners (Letterhead, August 13, 1940)

Sponsor of Meeting of Committee of Editors & Writers of the South, Atlanta, Georgia, December, 1944 - to discuss voting restrictions in the South. Author and President of University of North Carolina

Signed statement of 87 American liberals which included attack on Communist Party, U.S.A. (Congressional Record - 5/23/47)

On National Executive Committee of National Japanese-American Student Relocation Council, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Letterhead dated April 26, 1943)
Identified as President of University of North Carolina

Member, Board of Consultants of National Institute of Social Relations, Inc. (Undated circular letter)

Criticized in Holiday magazine for October, 1947, p. 30, for inviting "leading lady Communist of the United States to speak her piece there" - (University of North Carolina)

WFO #116-10420

A report received from the Counter-Intelligence Corps, Military District of Washington, revealed that a check of the files of the above-captioned committee on April 1, 1947, reflected the following additional information regarding the employee:

GRAHAM, Dr. Frank, Communist Petition Signer - 1658
President, University of North Carolina

Attended Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, ended 23 November 1938

GRAHAM, Dr. Frank P., Chapel Hill, N. C. 21 March 1935
Advisory Committee, Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, Arnold, Maryland

GRAHAM, Frank P., Communist Petition Signer - 1786

GRAHAM, Frank P., Communist Petition Signer - 2199

GRAHAM, Frank Porter, 6 January 1936
The magazine "The Nations" states that the above person is one of the 27 men and women that deserve the applause of their countrymen for, "their outstanding leadership in social service and education."

Additional information from the files of the above committee was obtained by Special Agent [redacted] on December 4, 1942, and is set forth in the above-mentioned report of Special [redacted] dated August 10, 1943, at Washington, D. C.

b7C

CREDIT AND CRIMINAL

The files of The Credit Bureau contain a report dated November 14, 1940, from an associate credit bureau at Durham, North Carolina, reflecting that the employee's credit rating there was satisfactory. The files of The Credit Bureau contain no information regarding a local credit rating on the employee.

The files of the Metropolitan Police Department contain no information regarding the employee.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 22 1947

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|---------------------|
| Mr. Tolson..... |
| Mr. E. A. Tamm..... |
| Mr. Clegg..... |
| Mr. Glavin..... |
| Mr. Ladd..... |
| Mr. Nichols..... |
| Mr. Rosen..... |
| Mr. Tracy..... |
| Mr. Egan..... |
| Mr. Gurnea..... |
| Mr. Harbo..... |
| Mr. Mohr..... |
| Mr. Pennington..... |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm..... |
| Mr. Nease..... |
| Miss Gandy..... |

FBI CHARLOTTE 10-22-47 5-30 PM EVI

DIRECTOR FBI

URGENT

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM DASH ONE, AEAE. REBUTEL ~~OK~~ TODAY. REMYLET
OCTOBER EIGHTEEN LAST. IN VIEW OF DEROGATORY INFORMATION NECESSITATE
EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION AND VOLUMINOUS FILE REVIEWS.

REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED NOVEMBER ONE NEXT.

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THORNTON

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Mr. Reay
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Charlotte

SUBJECT: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927
ATOMIC ENERGY ACT - EMPLOYEE
(Bureau File 116-30356)

DATE: November 1, 1947

as
1-8

As the Bureau is aware, Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM has been a controversial figure in the eyes of the public for many years. The Charlotte Office has received many comments and inquiries concerning him. The fact that the enclosure from the Bureau itself constitutes fourteen pages is indicative of the fact that an Atomic Energy Act - Employee investigation of him could not be covered and reported in a conventional manner.

Every effort has been made to reduce the size of the report as much as possible. As was pointed out, however, by [redacted] who was used as a most fertile source of information, no true investigation could be reported concerning GRAHAM without giving a complete picture of all of his activities showing the basis and growth of his ideas and attitudes. Furthermore, a number of the organizations to which GRAHAM belongs have no record in the files of the Charlotte Office. For this reason, they have all, both the questionable and the apparently innocuous, have been set forth.

b7C

Inasmuch as the only record which the Charlotte Office has concerning the recent categorization of GRAHAM by the House Un-American Affairs Committee is from inadequate newspaper reports, this phase of his history is being left altogether for the Washington Field Division in accordance with the instructions of the Bureau's original letter.

In this investigation complete notes have been made and are being held in Charlotte for future reference. In the event it is found that any portion of the report has been made too brief, it is felt the information can be immediately enlarged upon from the records at hand.

RHP:ner
116-1489

ENCLOSURE
11-20-47

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116-30356-6
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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

FILE NO. 116-1489 ner

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
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1 cc - Dayton and
VH/B. 2-15-49

Always, since he was first active as a student leader, GRAHAM has defended the underprivileged. In a way he is a little too gullible. For instance, as a member of the student council, he set out to rid the campus of a prostitute. He caught her, but she gave him such a hard luck story, he would have released her had others in the group not insisted he turn her over to the police. Today he makes it a point to hear out any story a college student brings to him. Ordinarily a man of flash decisions, he gives a student as much time as he wishes to talk.

Active in the social development of the country, GRAHAM has advocated betterment of labor, with the right to organize and bargain collectively; education of all classes at Government expense, if necessary; freedom of academic inquiry; world Government; aid to underprivileged minorities. His principle, however, is the pacifist's approach to these ends. He never tries to force his beliefs on others. The only occasion he will fight is when some less fortunate person than he is punished because of these same beliefs.

GRAHAM, according to [] welcomes any investigation. So far as [] knows, however, there has never been a thorough inquiry made concerning him. Whatever the charge, [] is of the opinion that GRAHAM's complete record will vindicate him. [] will recommend him without reservation. b7C

[] gives from his records the following biographical sketch for him:

The eleventh president of the University of North Carolina. GRAHAM was born Fayetteville, North Carolina, October 14, 1886, son of ALEXANDER and KATHERINE GRAHAM. His father was a Scotch-Presbyterian, educator, founder of the public schools in Fayetteville, and head of the schools in Charlotte, North Carolina, from 1888 to 1913. GRAHAM graduated from Charlotte High School and Fayetteville Academy. Later he attended the University of North Carolina, where he received an A. B. degree in 1909; LLD in 1913; license to practice before the Supreme Court; M. A. Columbia University, 1916; he has served as secretary of the University of North Carolina, YMCA; and 1914, was appointed instructor in history after having taught English for two years, 1910-12 at Raleigh High School, Raleigh, North Carolina. While an undergraduate according to the Yackety Yack Yearbook, he was a campus leader in athletics and college activities. Also, he worked as a clothing agent, shoe agent and newspaper correspondent for additional educational funds. In 1916, he obtained a M. A. degree from Columbia University and 1917 enlisted in the Marine Corps. At first, he was rejected because of his size but through continual persistence was finally allowed to enter

b7C

although he did not serve overseas. According to [redacted], he has received much praise from the Marine Corps for his ability as a soldier. July 1919, he was mustered out as a first lieutenant. 1919-1921, he was assistant professor at the University of North Carolina, as well as Dean of Students, and associate professor from 1921 until the end of the year, when he spent two years in graduate study under the Amherst Memorial Fellowship out of the University of Chicago. 1925, he returned as an Associate Professor to the University of North Carolina. Two years later, he became a full professor and June 1930, was elected president. He has received the following honorary degrees:

D. Litt- Columbia University; D.L.C. Catawba College; LL. D. Birmingham-Southern, Princeton, Harvard, Davidson, Duke, William and Mary; and Doctor of Laws by Temple University.

July 12, 1932, he married MARLAN DRANE, daughter of Reverend ROBERT DRANE of Edenton, North Carolina. Additional honors included president of Sigma Upsilon, National Intercollegiate Literary Society; president of National Association of College Writing Groups; vice-president Tau Kappa Alpha, Intercollegiate Debating Fraternity; member Phi Beta Kappa National senate.

ACTIVITIES

The following facts, which are referred as being taken from periodicals, newspapers and literature, have been verified as fact by [redacted] and W. R. MADRY, Mayor of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and head of the University of North Carolina News Book. MADRY has known GRAHAM intimately since 1925. Some references are being included at length, inasmuch as [redacted] feels they are necessary to give an unbiased picture of the employee. His history is related in as near a chronological order as possible by date. b7C

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
June 1930

During 1920-21, GRAHAM was the hub of the educational revival in North Carolina. For two years was president of the North Carolina Social Service Conference, which largely organized and furnished inspiration for the Citizens Library Movement, seeking to expand library facilities of North Carolina library communities. In this educational campaign, GRAHAM was largely responsible for obtaining a \$20,000,000 educational and charitable organization by the North Carolina legislature.

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Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
November 1925 and December 1941

On the Amherst Scholarship, GRAHAM studied in Washington, D. C., and in England and France, covering sociology, history and Government in action. In 1925, he wrote a letter to the Alumni Office setting forth an impression that he ~~XXXXXX~~ received in Hyde Park, London, where soapbox orators were talking on any controversial subject imaginable protected in their right to speak by the British policemen. [] states that GRAHAM also studied under [] and [] concerning the liberal republican movement. These studies had a profound affect on his attitudes in later life.

b7C

Durham Morning Herald
Durham, North Carolina
March 25, 1925 - "Evolution, The University and the People"

The legislature of North Carolina had introduced the Poole Bill restricting the teaching of evolution in State universities. President CHASE of the University of North Carolina actively opposed the passage of such a bill. As a result, he was subject to a number of attacks. GRAHAM in England heard of these attacks and wrote for publication a treatise pertaining to the defense of President CHASE in opposition to the Poole Bill, outlining the charges against CHASE as follows:

1. He is a Northerner
2. He brought too many outsiders to the faculty of the University of North Carolina
3. He permits and defends the rights of teaching evolution as opposed to fundamentalism

GRAHAM states in backing CHASE's opposition and his fight for the teaching of evolution that CHASE "has raised the University standard to be seen of all our people. Freedom to think, freedom to speak, freedom to print are the texture of that standard It is marked in the cornerstone of the University "Lux Libertas."

On February 9, 1927, after returning from England and resuming his duties as a professor, GRAHAM delivered a speech entitled "The Old South and the New Industrialism" before the annual North Carolina Conference for Social Welfare, the text of which was provided by [] His speech pertained to freedom and equalization among the peoples as guaranteed by the Constitution, the right of education to all students and statements that

b7C

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the quest for truth rests upon public health, education and welfare, which can not be suppressed. He asks for the use of Federal agencies to make a survey of North Carolina women in industry and points out that there should be a study of the South and its industrial setup, pointing out that North Carolina had a sixty hour work week with no workman's compensation, upheld the "fourth grade clause", no Australian ballot, and no eight months school term. He also traces the history of industrial advancement in England.

The News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 7, 1928

GRAHAM spoke before the council of the North Carolina Federation of Woman's Club at Goldsboro, North Carolina, urging the expansion of library facilities in order that education may be provided, giving equality of opportunity.

The News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
March 1, 1929

He was elected President of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service and at that time made a speech which included the principles of a petition. A petition was at that time circulating throughout North Carolina in behalf of industrial advancement. This petition included the signatures of more than four hundred prominent North Carolinians. It advocated recommendations to the North Carolina legislature; among other things, the enlargement of the farm penal colony for women offenders, increased appropriation for Mothers' Aid Work, passage of a five-day marriage ban bill, limitation of working hours of children from fourteen to sixteen years of age, a maximum eight-hour day in mercantile and industrial plants, the reduction from eleven to nine hours as a legal working day, compulsory attendance at school of all who have not passed the fourth grade or until sixteen years of age and appropriate provision for mentally defective criminals.

The petition, actually published February 16, 1930, included additional principles requiring a guarantee of

1. Freedom of speech and assembly in North Carolina of all persons without regard to birthplace, race, ownership or labor status, unionism or non-unionism, religion or political views.

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2. The right of capital and labor as well to organize and bargain collectively.
3. Nation-wide non-partisan economic and social survey and analysis of the textile industry.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
February 4, 1930

This paper quotes GRAHAM as saying in behalf of this petition that the essential Americanism of the Bill of Rights, without faithless violation "can stand against the fallacies, fanaticism and the violence of Communism, Fascism and Anarchism with the due processes of light, liberty and law. By this preservation of ideals of American freedom American democracy will prevail over class hatreds and dictatorships."

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
April 15, 1930

At a speech GRAHAM, speaking as head of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service at Charlotte, North Carolina, maintained that workers had the equal right to organize that individual capitalists possess. June 1, 1930, GRAHAM was elected president of the University of North Carolina over his protest. The election, according to newspaper articles, was favorably received throughout North Carolina.

Raleigh News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
June 15, 1930

NELL BATTLE LEWIS, in column "Incidentally" concerning GRAHAM, stated, "His has been the most far reaching liberal voice which has spoken in the State on the subject, North Carolina Industrial Advancement."

On December 15, 1930, GRAHAM made a speech before the Pieria Book Club, Sanford, North Carolina. According to a statement by Dr. EDGAR W. KNIGHT of the University of North Carolina, Education Department, published in the News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina, September 12, 1930, GRAHAM had been considered radical in his labor views as well as his stand on Fundamentalism. At this speech, GRAHAM stated that individuals should never think that all old ideas are gone nor that there are none new, and

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"no university ought to close his windows and doors to new ideas but should open them and bring in the sunlight in order to differentiate between the real and true, and the sordid and untrue."

[] pointed out that in 1931 during the depression times, GRAHAM devoted his activities toward a fight against the reduction of State appropriation to educational institutions and teachers' salaries. He made many speeches in this campaign. b7C

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
February 1932

Sets forth the account of a State-wide campaign initiated by GRAHAM to raise \$100,000 as a Student Loan Fund to prevent financially troubled students from having to leave the University of North Carolina.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
September 18, 1932

L. A. TATUM (a prominent cotton mill industrialist according to W. R. MADRY) had presented a petition against GRAHAM to the Governor of the State protesting certain radical and atheistic matter which he had found in certain text and reference books and lectures, which had been delivered at the University of North Carolina and at the Woman's College (also a State college) in Greensboro, North Carolina. An answer to this petition before the Men's Bible Class of the Edenton Street Methodist Church in Raleigh, GRAHAM reiterated his pledge never to close the windows of the University to the outside light.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
September 29, 1932

GRAHAM was elected head of the Consolidated University of North Carolina by a unanimous vote of the trustees. This consolidation gave GRAHAM leadership of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; State University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Woman's College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina. This job, according to MADRY, is one that has had to face friction and difficulty coming from college jealousies and which GRAHAM has handled in a manner which MADRY believes would surpass the efforts of any other person.

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Wilmington Journal
Wilmington, North Carolina
October 13, 1932

GRAHAM was made temporary vice-president of the North Carolina Division of the Southeastern Economic Council.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
November 4, 1932

At a meeting of the Kiwanis Clubs, GRAHAM spoke concerning the role of education in the times of depression saying, "One of the greatest needs in America is a reassertion, in the teeth of cynicism, in our faith in Americanism, in a deeper and wider use of the ways and powers of democracy. Dictatorships encroach upon the ideas and processes of democracy all over the world, whether as Fascism in Italy, Bolshevism in Russia, or special interests in America."

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
November 14, 1932

Reported a meeting of the trustees of the greater University of North Carolina, in which the previously mentioned petition sponsored by TATUM was called to the attention of the Governor. Trustee A. A. HICKS said that the petition, which was signed by 284 people of North Carolina, offered the petition for consideration. It was resolved that due consideration would be given it. The newspaper pointed out that there are some teachers or a teacher, which the petition was designated to oust and if this was done, nobody would hear any more from Mr. TATUM, BERTRAND RUSSELL (Englishman professing atheism), NORMAN THOMAS (socialist presidential candidate), LANGSTON HUGHES (negro radical poet), SIGMUND FREUD (controversial psychologist). [redacted] provided the remarks within the parenthesis and stated that these individuals had been invited to the campus to speak before student organizations. The invitations were issued to these speakers by the students themselves. b7C

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
June 27, 1933

GRAHAM was selected to the committee to represent consumers when codes of fair competition were submitted by various groups of industry under the NRA.

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Chapel Hill Weekly
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
October 10, 1933

GRAHAM was offered but, at the insistence of University trustees and the governor, declined to accept the direction of the NRA Educational Economic Program as requested by JOHNSON, head of the NRA.

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
December 1933

GRAHAM was one of a group named by the president to cooperate with the Tennessee Valley Authority in working out plans for the cultural development of the South.

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
February 1934

GRAHAM was made trustee of the North Carolina Thrift Society, which had as its aim ~~XXX~~ fostering thrift and saving among school children.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
March 21, 1934

The North Carolina Farmers Co-operative Exchange, working in conjunction with the North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina, named GRAHAM as its public director. The purpose of the organization was the study of North Carolina agriculture to lead to a planned agricultural program.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
August 16, 1934

GRAHAM and KEMP/BATTLE (it is to be noted that BATTLE is a reference in this investigation) organized from their own finances a lobby located at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, North Carolina, to aid acceptance of a new constitution for North Carolina. MADRY states that he is not familiar with this particular activity nor is However, they both b7C agree that a number of times efforts have been made to change the State Constitution and that GRAHAM has been in favor of such change.

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Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
August 30, 1934

Dr. GRAHAM was named by Historian CHARLES A. BEARD as one of twenty-five most interesting Americans. "Each, stated BEARD, is a person to whom in times of stress we can turn and who is socially conscious." According to MADRY, in 1934 Dr. GRAHAM was one of a group of university representatives who met in the Southern Conference Athletic meeting wherein it was agreed that no scholarships would be granted to students solely for the purpose of promoting athletes. GRAHAM was one of the few college professors insisting on implementing this agreement, and the plan became known as the "Graham Simon Pure Plan." This caused a greater criticism of GRAHAM by alumni of the University of North Carolina. After an attempted enforcement of the plan for two years, it was abandoned as unsuccessful.

At approximately the same time, there was also a interfaculty difficulty between Dean ISAAC MANNING of the Medical School and Dr. GRAHAM. GRAHAM had ruled that the University Medical School had no right to limit the number of Jewish students admitted to ten per cent provided there was room for other applicants, who could meet the requirements. Dr. MANNING considered this an interference with his right as director of the Medical School and submitted his resignation.

Also in 1934, during a strike in High Point, North Carolina, a former student of GRAHAM, ALTON LAWRENCE, who was at the time secretary of the Socialist Party, committed a trespass in High Point, North Carolina, by climbing over a fence on one of the mills in which a strike was occurring. GRAHAM, at the time, was in South Carolina. LAWRENCE wired GRAHAM telling him that he had been arrested and was being held in jail. GRAHAM immediately wired back offering to go on LAWRENCE's bond. This wire was made public, and GRAHAM was criticized. GRAHAM's view, according to MADRY, was simply that he was exercising a citizen's right to furnish bail for a friend and former student pending a hearing whether the accused was guilty or innocent. GRAHAM would have provided the same service to any individual formerly associated with him for any crime, inasmuch as it was LAWRENCE's constitutional right to be released on bond.

The Fayetteville Observer
Fayetteville, North Carolina
September 13, 1934

In a editorial states that the very fact that GRAHAM knew he would be maligned if he went on bond for the young Socialist was the challenge

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which made it impossible for GRAHAM to do anything other than to offer the bond to him in his own proper person and name when he might have used the services of another individual. It states further "if that straight line imperial GRAHAM's job as president of the University of North Carolina, he did not want it in the first place and took it only when the trustees insisted." GRAHAM would rather live in peace and poverty with his uncompromised conscience than to live in a presidential mansion by virtue of diplomatic circumlocution. GRAHAM was also defended by the Raleigh News and Observer dated September 16, 1934

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 4, 1934

Speaking at the annual opening convocation of the University of North Carolina as chairman of the National Consumer's Advisory Board of the NRA, GRAHAM stated, "American democracy, which leads the world in the development of a world-wide ministry to human needs through the great corporation, has fallen too much under the sway of financial power. It must now save itself and avoid the ways of Fascist or Communist dictatorship through the American ways of social control in behalf of the work, life, liberty and happiness of all the people."

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 22, 1934

Dr. GRAHAM was elected one of the leaders in the Emergency Council on Education for North Carolina.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
November 15, 1934

GRAHAM commented on social planning at the presidential conference with Mr. ROOSEVELT concerning social security, saying that it is not to be achieved through tyranny and the regimentation of dictatorship. Real security never comes at the sacrifice of real liberty. The advisory committee seeks to learn before advising.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
November 19, 1934

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GRAHAM was named chairman of the board of the President's Committee on Economic Security.

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
December 6, 1934

It sets forth that Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, issued an appeal for aid for the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, which was held during the past summer at the old Weaver College in Weaverville, Georgia. Dr. GRAHAM is stated as being a member of the advisory committee for this school and stated in his appeal that women from the rank and file of industry, who perform mechanic operations in textile, tobacco, hosiery and other factories in the Southern states, have come into this school for six weeks of study, discussion and recreation. At this period of industrialization of the South strategic with opportunity to build more intelligently a fairer and more humane civilization, it is necessary that there be in the South a summer school for women workers in industry. He directed that any contribution be sent to Mrs. [REDACTED], Maryland. b7C

TAYLOR BLEDSO, Attorney, Oates Building, Asheville, North Carolina, stated about November 17, 1942, that he was a former University of North Carolina student and a friend of FRANK GRAHAM. He was familiar with the Southern Summer School for Female Workers in Industry located in Hendersonville, North Carolina, recalling that it was organized in 1927 or 1928. FRANK GRAHAM had been on the board of advisors since its organization. At one time a summer school solely for women workers from the South, it later became coeducational. BLEDSO understood that labor unions sponsored this school with the purpose of teaching how to conduct union meetings, how to put on entertainments, parliamentary procedure, public speaking, economics, hygiene and English. He recalls that one time at an institution sponsored by this school, Communists tried to put through a motion, but a halt was called by those in charge because they wished no involvement with Communists. Rumors, according to BLEDSO, have flourished that it was Communist, but he believes that these rumors grew out of the fact that the school is a labor school and a misunderstanding of its purpose.

According to [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau and who is reliable, [REDACTED] was the dominating force in the school. She, states the informant, was definitely not Communist, but her interest in the labor school movement was so great that she willingly accepted all of the help the Communist Party would give her without questioning the ultimate

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purpose behind their support. The Communist Party was interested in the organization but did not dominate its policies or contribute financially to its support.

Chapel Hill Weekly
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
February 22, 1935

An editorial points out that W. R. HEARST, the Chicago Publisher, had opened an attack on the National Advisory Council of the Institute of International Education for supporting a delegation of American students to the University of Moscow on a student exchange basis. Dr. GRAHAM was prominently mentioned as a member of this board. Included with him were such men as THOMAS W. LAMONT and Senator DWIGHT MORROW.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
February 24, 1935

It points out editorially that the Institute of International Education had been chaperoning summer schools in all of the leading capitals of the world through an exchange of professors for the purpose of providing an opportunity for scholars to matriculate in each or all and thus avail themselves of an all-inclusive cross section of the culture of each nationality involved." "North Carolina knows FRANK GRAHAM better than the nation knows him and North Carolina knows FRANK GRAHAM is no convert to the silly and assinine gospel of Russian sovietism or communism. Dr. GRAHAM is a liberal who has an almost uncontrollable passion for simple human justice and that attitude of his is only excelled, if at all, by his equally passionate quest of truth. Whatever truth is and wherever it is located, even if it can be conceived as being located in Russia, he would not hesitate to seek in spite of its unhappy environment."

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
February 1935

In an address quoted in the Register "A University of the People", Dr. GRAHAM stated concerning the social consequences of the depression "The University must not stand aloof from these human consequences but rather must have the social intelligence and courage to help the people understand the manifold context in the world in which they live and do their days work. We can not without betraying the hopes of the people in every land let the world remain as it is. It will not so remain. It will

tend to mend or crash in its own ruins. Neither should the people in violence tear it down. We must dream and plan the great society while we live in the old society."

According to the "Textile Bulletin" published by DAVID CLARK, Charlotte, North Carolina, in the May 30, 1935, issue, the following are the facts of the so-called Burlington dynamite case occurring September 15, 1934, in the E. M. Holt Plaid Mill and Stevens Mill, Burlington, North Carolina. Strikes were occurring at the mills. They both were dynamited. Small damage was done but after investigation, the police arrested five men. These men were convicted in the State courts. According to CLARK, the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization, supplied some attorneys in the striker's defense.

During the time of the appeal, a group of University of North Carolina professors including [redacted] who was known to have associated with Communists, started an action known as the Workers Defense Council at the University of North Carolina. The purpose of the council was to obtain money for the defense of these persons in the appeal of their case to the Supreme Court. Money was collected. Two of the defendants appeared at the University of North Carolina at the Graham Memorial Hall and spoke in their own behalf. [redacted] maintained that they were innocent. b7C

CLARK, in the "Textile Bulletin" during the summer and fall of 1935, directed a number of attacks at the University for permitting such "interference" in criminal matters and Communist matters which, in his opinion, did not pertain to the University.

"Textile Bulletin" dated June 13, 1935, and a letter to the News and Observer from DAVID CLARK dated June 13, 1935, criticizes GRAHAM for his endorsement of a pamphlet entitled "Can Guns Still Strikes" issued by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. As a result of the Burlington and Gastonia strikes, a Fellowship of Reconciliation was organized with a local chapter at the University of North Carolina, in which [redacted] a conscientious objector and active worker in the American Peace Mobilization Incorporated, operated. b7C

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
June 18, 1935

Reporting a portion of the text of a speech by GRAHAM before the graduating class of the Gastonia, North Carolina, High School includes this

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portion of GRAHAM's address. "It makes no matter which way your conscience leads you, whether it be toward conservatism, or along the road of radicalism, to socialism or communism--so long as you are intelligent and fair." In this speech, GRAHAM dealt primarily with the great need for courageous experimentation in social reorganization, praising President ROOSEVELT for his liberal attempts to "mend the sorry structure of our present society which bids to lead us to destruction."

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
June 30, 1935

The University of Missouri considered GRAHAM for an invitation to become president of that university but GRAHAM withdrew his name.

Oswald Garrison Villard
Nation, Page 315
September 18, 1935

States concerning GRAHAM's Williamstown, Massachusetts, speech on August 25, 1935, before a conference of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, it was a document every conservative ought to read. "If Mr. ROOSEVELT is wise, he will make this exhibit number one in behalf of the new deal in the campaign a year hence." The text of this speech was entitled "Can Democracy Survive in the Modern World."

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
November 1935

GRAHAM states "this country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either a Communist or Fascist form . . . both the British and American tradition, even in the present political climate of emergency, make a poor environment for a political dictatorship."

After a conclusion that the farms and industrial workers have sufficient power to block a Fascist movement in the United States, Dr. GRAHAM continued "for a communist dictatorship, there appears less chance even with a change in the traditional attitude of the American workers. The farms and urban middle class overwhelmingly outweigh the proletariat, who are apt to recede in power before technological advances."

GRAHAM'S FIRST PUBLIC REPLY TO CRITICS

High Point Enterprise
High Point, North Carolina
November 30, 1935 - "What Others Say"

In this column a letter from GRAHAM to Publisher SCOTT THOMAS of the Richmond County Journal is as follows:

"My dear Scott: Thank you, old boy, for your kind words and the moral support, it helps a lot. I often feel they will have to 'get' men like you before they 'get' me. I know that you can not be intimidated. You are very kind to send me your strong editorials.

"As you well know, I have never attacked the textile industry no more than I have attacked the agricultural industry. The things that, as a student of history and economics, I have pointed out from time to time have been considered the real leaders in the textile industry to be vital and helpful to the textile industry. In fact, the stand that I took nearly ten years ago has become a large part of the accepted position of the textile industry itself. Mr. CLARK can't put his hand on a single word, which is remotely suggestive of an attack. Several years ago, I did take a stand against the sixty-hour week, against night work for women, and against industrial work for children, and for the right of working people to organize and bargain collectively. These tenets and principles can not be considered an attack on the textile industry by any people but those who fail to realize what the best interests of the textile industry are.

"These so-called 'meddling professors' at the University of North Carolina have been real friends of the textile industry. In fact, one of them is now head of the Cotton Textile Institute, Dr. Charles Murchison, whom Mr. Roosevelt made director of the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce

"It seems that the real leaders in the textile industry understand the best interests of the textile industry better than those who are always slinging stones and even mud. The scholars and students who try to interpret our North Carolina interest in the light of industrial history and economic development consider human beings as more precious than machines."

Confidential Information [] who is reliable, reported during 1941 that GRAHAM in the year 1935, was listed among a large group of friends of the Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. According to the informant, no proof of Communist activities was discovered at the time this college was

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sued by the State of Arkansas and closed. However, considerable evidence of radical beliefs was uncovered including the failure to display the American flag, displaying an illegal emblem (the hammer and the sickle), and for teaching anarchy. The illegal emblem was proved embedded in the concrete floor of the college milk house. The suit against this college was not brought until 1941.

The State (A Weekly Magazine)
Raleigh, North Carolina
January 4, 1936

This magazine carries a story of GRAHAM's activity and success in releasing a Japanese exchange student, FUKUSATO, of the University of North Carolina from the marshal, who had seized him for deportation. The reason for deportation was insufficient funds to support himself as a Japanese alien together with the difficulty in maintaining the required grade standards at the University of North Carolina as an exchange student. GRAHAM contacted many individuals personally including the Secretary of Labor before he was able to obtain FUKUSATO's release, but was eventually successful after posting a \$4000 bond for FUKUSATO. The article states this occurrence took place about 1932, and [redacted] requested the incident be reported to illustrate the fact that the support of ALTON LAWRENCE by GRAHAM was not an isolated occurrence. b7C

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
January 1936

GRAHAM was made vice-president of the National Association of State Universities.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
August 3, 1936

CLARK charged that GRAHAM was one of a group who protested allowing American athletes to participate in Olympic games in Nazi, Germany, questioning GRAHAM as to why this should be done after previously advocating a Moscow school for American students in order to allow freedom of learning.

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
November 1936

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GRAHAM was appointed by President ROOSEVELT to represent the United States on the Harvard Tercentary Commission. The appointment, according to [] was for the purpose of representing the Government b7C at the celebration of Harvard's 300th Anniversary.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
June 27, 1937

GRAHAM was considered as president of the University of Indiana but withdrew his name.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
April 28, 1938

ROOSEVELT appointed Dr. GRAHAM to the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy, an annual group which inspects the academy and reports on the work being done there.

Mr. [] Birmingham Merchants Credit Association, b7C 2109 Fifth Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama, furnished a report on a meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare held there in 1938. At that time GRAHAM, the conference chairman, spoke on equal opportunity for all races and creeds. He was asked, but declined, to accept the office of the chairman of the conference for another one-year term. Further comments concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are set out hereinafter in chronological order by date in this report.

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
January 1939

GRAHAM was made one of a committee to discuss with President ROOSEVELT the proposed building of his Hyde Park Museum to house his collection of State papers. He also states that he formulated the report of the National Emergency Council as chairman of its Advisory Committee that subsequently became the basis for our present United States Social Security Act.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
February 8, 1939

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President GRAHAM was selected as head of the committee for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to support Federal aid to the States for public education. He was also made president of that organization during that meeting.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
February 21, 1939

Before a joint meeting of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, civic clubs, GRAHAM spoke saying, "In this day when human liberty, being shackled by both Fascist and Communist, and democracy is in retreat on many eastern and western fronts, it is needful for us at this time in February . . . to commemorate the birth principles of our Republic and to refresh our ideals in the historic streams of our first Americanism."

"The fear of no economic theory, however fallacious, and of no social philosophy, however hateful, can, I believe, terrorize us into the overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the American principle of lawful freedom of speech and assembly."

The official publication of the National Student Federation of America lists GRAHAM among a number of other prominent educators as a member of its board of advisors. The publication shows the Federation organized in 1925 at Princeton University, representing 150 accredited colleges and organized to achieve a spirit of cooperation among students in the United States to develop an intelligent opinion on questions of national and international importance; to maintain a clear understanding among students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace. GRAHAM, according to [redacted] has been a member of the Federation's Board of Advisors since 1939.

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Miss [redacted] of the National Students Federation of America, 1410 H Street NW, Washington, D. C., stated in 1941 that the organization was affiliated with the National Youth Congress, which she considered Communistic, but in the December Congress of that year, the National Students Federation of America announced its withdrawal for these reasons. Some members of the National Students Federation of America, however, voted strongly to remain so affiliated. b7C

*Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau and who is considered reliable, declared in 1941 that the American Student Union was at that time operating on the University of North Carolina b2 b7D

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campus and included members, who were known to have associated with Communists. The informant disclosed that GRAHAM had been requested to speak at various colleges in behalf of this group as well as indorse its program. There is no evidence at Charlotte, North Carolina, that GRAHAM acceded to this request.

[redacted] states the informant, [redacted]
[redacted] b7C
ground that he objected to the stand the American Student Union had taken b7D
in opposing the ROOSEVELT administration and in branding the anti-Fascist
struggle of the British as an imperialistic war.

[redacted] and MADRY stated that GRAHAM supported ROOSEVELT's b7C
activity in his attempts to withdraw the embargo in order to provide British
with supplies to fight their war.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
March 7, 1939

FRANK GRAHAM was reported as the southern representative on
the Sponsors Committee of the Bill of Rights Sesquicentennial celebration in
New York on March 4, 1939.

Textile Bulletin
Charlotte, North Carolina
March 15, 1939

Mr. CLARK, Editor, reports that Dr. GRAHAM, along with fourteen
others at the University of North Carolina, signed an article requesting
that the United States lift the embargo on arms so that guns and ammunitions
might be sent to the Loyalists in Spain.

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
April 1939

President ROOSEVELT directed GRAHAM as a member of a commis-
sion to make a survey of the educational facilities at Porto Rica.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
April 26, 1939

Secretary of Labor FRANCES E. PERKINS at the White House
Conference on Children in Democracy introduced FRANK GRAHAM as a leading
man in the nation, who has stayed close to the people.

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Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
January 1940

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It states that the committee for the Southern Governors Conference and the American Council of Medical Education and Hospitals included GRAHAM in the group.

Confidential Informant [] who is considered reliable, stated that [] a member of the University of North Carolina faculty and a ~~known Communist~~ came so strongly to the attention of the public because of his activities, was attacked by the members of the University of North Carolina faculty in such a manner that he resigned but that Dr. FRANK GRAHAM persuaded him to return to his job.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
February 3, 1940

The National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Catholic Conference of the South held a Southern Institute for Better Understanding at the University of North Carolina. At this meeting GRAHAM was made the southern area chairman.

In March of 1940, according to a booklet entitled "Proceedings Fourth Annual Conference" held at Washington, D. C., on March 2 and March 3 for the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, GRAHAM was listed among a long list of sponsors. There was also a 1941 meeting and a booklet entitled "Souvenir Journal." This same committee also contained GRAHAM as one of the sponsors for that year.

Confidential Informant [] who is reliable, stated in 1941 that VITO MARCANTONIO, Communist representative to the United States Congress from New York, was the featured speaker. This informant reliably stated he condemned the United States Government, the Hobbs Bill and all legislature curtailing labor activity, praised Sacco-Vanzetti and HARRY BRIDGES. [] for the Committee at the same meeting, criticized the Department of Justice for the Alien Registration laws and made disparaging remarks about the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

SECOND PUBLIC ANSWER MADE BY GRAHAM
TO CRITICS

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
June 1940

In an article entitled "Lenoir Chamber's Questions - and Dr. Frank Graham's Answers" sets forth verbatim a program in the spring of 1940 before an alumni group of the University of North Carolina in which Dr. GRAHAM was questioned in detail about Communism and Communist in the University of North Carolina.

- Q. Are there courses of study in the University which deal with Fascism, Nazism, and Communism; and if so, could you tell us why and something about the principles which govern the handling of these courses?
- A. Yes, the Dean of the School of Commerce, Dr. D. D. CARROLL, gives a course called "Theories of Economic Reform" in which all of the above theories of government are considered, along with individualism and capitalism. It is simply the University being true to itself in trying to keep its doors and windows open so that the students may understand the world into which they are to go and to do their day's work. It is not true that because the University makes it possible for the students to study these movements and issues that the University is a part of the movement or advocates the movement . . . We would cease to be a modern university if we closed our classrooms and laboratories to the liveliest things going on in our times.
- Q. Do the teachers who conduct these courses attempt to advocate any of the basic and distinctive ideas of these political philosophies and systems of government?
- A. They do not, so far as I know, and I have asked that question and have been told no.
- Q. Are there any Communists in the University faculty?
- A. No. At least I have asked people to bring up one as a matter of information.
- Q. Are there any Communists, Fascists, or Nazis among the students?

- A. I couldn't say about that absolutely. I have asked the students, not by way of inquisition but by way of information, because I consider that there are some here, and the students say . . . 3 or 4. To be safe I would multiply this by two - so you might say a dozen more or less. If this were so, we would give them the protection of the American Bill of Rights so long as they obey the law, were desirable citizens, and did their work.

Mr. MADRY added to these comments that GRAHAM was questioned about the organization of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which held a conference at Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940. Dr. GRAHAM estimated that out of a membership of 1,200, not more than a dozen were Communists or Communist sympathizers. As chairman of the conference, Dr. GRAHAM made sure to exclude these Communists from any committee or official activities of the conference and remained constantly on the alert for any evidence of Communist efforts to use the conference for Communist purposes.

Charlotte News
Charlotte, North Carolina
May 12, 1940

TIM PRIDGEN questioned Dr. GRAHAM concerning his offer to go on the bond of ALTON LAWRENCE. This interview discovered that Dr. GRAHAM did not make any extended inquiry into the facts of ALTON LAWRENCE's request, but immediately wired High Point, North Carolina, authorities stating that he would meet LAWRENCE's bond. The judge in High Point refused to honor the telegram, and GRAHAM prevailed upon a former president of the North Carolina Bankers Association, then in High Point, North Carolina, to advance the necessary money for the bond. GRAHAM pointed out to PRIDGEN in justification of his action, the fact that the case against LAWRENCE was subsequently nonsuited because of lack of evidence that LAWRENCE ever entered upon the premises of the plant. GRAHAM stated, "I would do the same thing again. I would do the same thing for any other student or alumnus, or human being for that matter, so held in jail with no one to go on his bond."

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
June 8, 1940

Reports a meeting of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina on June 7, 1940 - "Mark Lassiter of Snow Hill, North Carolina, objected at the meeting to the employment of professors from States not in

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harmony with the conditions in North Carolina. Chatham (Thurmond), Winston-Salem Manufacturer and former official of the American Liberty League - 'Our University is regarded as radical rather than liberal. I do not like some of the atmosphere and as a trustee, I want to protest against it.'"

"Dr. GRAHAM declared that he welcomed the bringing of all charges into the open and said such action would cause 95% of them to evaporate. 'As long as I am president of the University of North Carolina, it is going to be open and free. I do not want to be connected with it if the board of trustees consider such a policy perverting.'"

After comments by JOSEPHUS DANIELS, then Ambassador to Mexico, and other trustees supporting him, the objections on radicalism were withdrawn.

In September 1940, among other prominent Americans, FRANK GRAHAM is carried on the letterhead as a sponsor of the 'Council Against Intolerance in America.'"

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[REDACTED] On October 26, 1940, from the text of an address provided by given before the National Council of the YMCA, GRAHAM made a plea to fight the totalitarian factors, which were striving to overthrow the Bill of Rights through the world saying, "Above the spiritual conceptions and humane spirit of religion rise the strident claims and cruel power of national glory and historic imperialism in Fascist Italy, ruthless racialism in Nazi German, atheistic materialism in Communist Russia, inhuman militarism in Autocratic Japan, and much that is unchristian in finance industrialism in western European, British Imperial, and American democracies."

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
December 1940

GRAHAM was made president of the North Carolina College Conferences and a member of the National Executive Committee of the National Association of State Universities.

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
November 25, 1940

Sets forth that GRAHAM, among others, supported the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors in seeking a reduction of year and day sentences on eight divinity students in New York, who were conscientious objectors.

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JOSEPH C. KAMP

"In the Fifth Column of the South
1940

Published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., discloses that GRAHAM and Mrs. ROOSEVELT in 1939 visited the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, supporting the program of the staff. KAMP stated the school was a center for spreading Communist doctrine in the South. He also lists Mrs. ROOSEVELT and Dr. GRAHAM as advisors of the Highlander Camp, known to have been closely associated with the Summer School for Women Workers at Hendersonville, North Carolina.

Alumni Register
University of North Carolina
January 1941

The magazines "Progressive Farmer" and "Southern Ruralist" selected GRAHAM as the man of the year during 1940 for his encouragement and enlargement of the North Carolina Agricultural College.

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
February 15, 1941

Editor RALPH MCGILL states that FRANK GRAHAM in an address at the Aid to America Program held on the roof of the Ansley Hotel in Atlanta "calmly and carefully called the roll. He pointed to churches and parliaments abolished in Russia. He showed the suppression of religion and of parliamentary government in all countries where dictators rule."

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
February 17, 1941

GRAHAM, as vice-chairman of the National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, urged the backing of the Lend Lease Plan.

Confidential Informant who is reliable, declared that about March 21, 1941, there was an American Peace Mobilization Group among the University of North Carolina students. This group included known Communists. Its activities were opposed, however, by a representative belonging to the Committee to Defend America by Giving Aid to the Allies.

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Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
March 1941

GRAHAM was appointed as one of three representatives of the general public to the newly organized National Defense Mediation Board

THIRD PUBLIC ANSWER MADE BY GRAHAM
TO HIS CRITICS

The Congressional Record
Wednesday, April 23, 1941

[redacted] did not have available the actual volume and page number of the record but one of the advanced sheets). This sets forth a letter which representative CARL DURHAM entered into the Record in defense of FRANK GRAHAM. It was a letter from Dr. GRAHAM to Mr. JOSEPH LEIB, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., setting forth GRAHAM's stand on the war more fully to Britain and the democracies at whatever cost and risk.

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In addition, it states "In answer to your question I say what everyone knows me knows that I have never been and am not now a member of the Communist Party -, that I have never been and am not now a Communist, that I do not believe in the principles and activities of the Communist Party, and that on more than one occasion, I have clashed with those who have been suspected of following the Communist Party lines. I have been called a Communist by some reactionary industrialists, and I have been called a spokesman for the Capitalists by the Communists As vice-chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, I have been called a warmonger and other names for this stand, which I have maintained from the beginning. I am on record for aid to all the democracies from China to Britain including Spain and Finland With regard to being a member of the University of Moscow Board of Trustees, the closest I have ever been to Moscow is France. I was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Directors of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City, which had as its program, the establishment of university student centers and summer schools in many parts of the world for the purpose of promoting international understanding and good will among all the peoples of the world. This project was a part of the purpose of a great foundation to prevent war in the world. After America recognized Russia, Moscow was simply another strategic center included in this program of international education. However, the Soviet Government prevented carrying out the project at Moscow"

"With regard to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I know that the first chairman and the executive officers and the overwhelming majority of its members are as true Southerners and loyal Americans as any of the citizens of our Southern States. I also know that during my term as the second chairman, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was not a Communist transmission belt It may be true that a handful of Communists attempted to make it a transmission belt, but the overwhelming majority of us have stuck by the Southern Conference to carry out its real purpose in American democratic ways in behalf of justice to organizing labor, tenant farmers, negroes, unorganized workers and the forgotten millions. I have been assured by those who have checked the rolls that there are not more than a dozen Communists out of 1,200 members. It is not our purpose to drive even the dozen and their allies, if any were here or anywhere, underground, but to meet them and defeat them in the open in a free democratic struggle through open discussions, education, religion, legislature, and human good will, as against subversive violence, hate, irreligion, and blind allegiance to the party line of any foreign power. Some of the present leadership of the conference is too isolated to suit a number of us, a number which has grown, I believe, to an overwhelming majority in recent months. Yet, I respect the sincerity of the isolationists and also have faith in the sincerity of their assurance that their isolationist pacifism springs, not from Communism, but from Christianity as they interpret America's role and opportunity.

"I have always been a participationist and tried to win others to this view, but this fact does not prevent me from respecting the sincerity and patriotism of the isolationists.

"I realize that in the many stands, which I have taken in my own South in the midst of tense social situations, I have been called a negrophile in attempting, along with an increasingly large number of our Southern people, to be fair to the negro; and in the midst of strikes, I have called a tool of the Communists by some capitalists. To those who know me I do not have to say that I am neither. I simply try, on the basis of the facts in each situation, to be fair to both capital and labor, management, and workers"

According to the records of the National Student Federation of America, GRAHAM was on the executive committee in 1939 and 1940.

Mrs. [REDACTED] in the minutes of the records of its meeting, outlined the program of the Federation as a project to aid European and other refugees saying one of the most important activities is work camps but having

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been in on German work camps, she didn't want to have "any Nazi germs." This organization was not to pass resolutions but was just a discussion group backing academic freedom on the part of teachers and professors.

Charlotte News
Charlotte, North Carolina
June 24, 1941

Quotes BART LOGAN, Secretary of the Communist Party in North Carolina and South Carolina, as having attacked Dr. GRAHAM in his support to the "Roosevelt-Wall Street War Drive, membership in the aid-to-Britain societies, membership on the Strikebreaking, Antilabor, Mediation Board, as well as for having approved the decision of the University of North Carolina trustees to curb interracial meetings in the University and to require each teacher to take a Hitler-like oath of allegiance." LOGAN states "ex-progressives like Dr. GRAHAM are extremely useful for Wall Street's war drive and the phony friends of labor are around us everywhere still posing as the allies of the common people. But the situation has changed and the working man can only expect betrayal from the liberals who drop their liberalism at the first crack of the war-maker's whip."

New York Times
New York City
October 10, 1941

Carried a list of the backers of the National Fund Raising Campaign indorsing aid for the Russian people. FRANK GRAHAM was among them.

RAY PUCKER, in his column "Washington and New York Whirligig" carried in the Charlotte Observer, November 17, 1941, lauds FRANK GRAHAM as a member of the National Mediation Board in voting against JOHN L. LEWIS' demand for a closed shop in captive coal mines.

According to Confidential Informant [redacted], a reliable informant,^{b2} Dr. GRAHAM was one of the sponsors for the American Committee for Democratic^{b7D} and Intellectual Freedom from which, according to the New York Times dated December 21, 1939, Dr. NELSON P. MEAD resigned after ten prominent members of the committee had urged him as President of the City College of New York to permit EARL BROWDER to speak at the college.

[redacted] New York, reported in 1941 that he^{b7C} had attended several meetings of this group before he realized it was controlled by a very liberal committee and that [redacted] one of the prominent

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members who had been accused by the Rapp-Coudert Committee of being a member of the Communist Party, had been interviewed by [redacted]. Although [redacted] denied being a member of the Party, [redacted] was under the impression that this denial was untrue.

[redacted] Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, stated concerning other members of the committee, Professors [redacted] in his opinion they were definitely fellow travelers.

[redacted] of New York, reported that he knew the committee strongly condemned the Fascists, but when Russia attacked Finland, he was unsuccessful in getting the committee to condemn Russia and Communism for their invasion of that democratic country.

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Professor [redacted] Columbia University, stated that he was well acquainted with Professor [redacted] and Professor [redacted] considered them very Leftis in their views and would definitely label them as fellow travelers.

Through Confidential Informant [redacted] it was learned that [redacted] was closely associated with GRAHAM, and GRAHAM had stated that the committee ought to devote its efforts to supporting the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and College, which had set up a special investigating committee to look into the TALMADGE situation. [redacted] stated that he expected difficulty in winning people over. [redacted] according to informant, who is very reliable, reported to [redacted] that he had breakfasted with Dr. GRAHAM October 9, 1941, saying that GRAHAM was decidedly interested and helpful. "But following very frank, and he asks that we not use his name. Watch this 100%." [redacted] also says that GRAHAM suggested a letter to be sent three prominent individuals in the educational field in the South in behalf of the program and otherwise generally outline what the committee might do throughout the South in its work.

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News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
April 21, 1942

GRAHAM received the Jefferson Award from the Southern Conference of Human Welfare as the Southerner who contributed the most outstanding service to the South.

New York Times
New York City
June 8, 1943

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Attributes to GRAHAM the responsibility for the decision of the National Labor Board in the Southport Petroleum Company of Texas City case requiring the granting of equal pay to all workers doing the same job regardless of color or race.

Through a reliable source, it was learned that GRAHAM was a member of the Southern Electoral Reform League, which worked closely with [redacted] of the Communist Party of Virginia, in supporting the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. This informant, [redacted] reveals that known Communists were working in this organization. b7C b2 b7D

On April 5, 1943, GRAHAM is listed on the letterhead as a sponsor for the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

According to Confidential Informant [redacted] a reliable informant, some of the active workers in this organization were known to have been associated with Communist front organizations. b2 b7D

Confidential Informant [redacted] who is considered reliable, in January 1944, reported that [redacted] for the Communist Party, USA District No. 16, included Dr. GRAHAM on her mailing list. b2 b7C b7D

Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina
April 3, 1944

Records that Dr. GRAHAM made a speech before the Tuskegee Alabama Institute praising the progress of the negro in the United States.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
November 5, 1944

Sets forth a telegram, which Dr. GRAHAM wired to the University of Texas protesting the University Trustees' action in ousting Dr. HOMER RAINNEY as president of the University. He said, "I wish to protest against the outrage of the dismissal of an able, courageous and distinguished educator from the presidency of the University of Texas. The regents are doing the University of Texas what Bilbo did to the University of Mississippi and Talmadge did to the University of Georgia. God forbid that they can get away with such a crime at the University."

[redacted] with whom MADRY concurred, stated that it was his understanding that RAINNEY was dismissed because of liberal views. b7C

[redacted] Street, [redacted]
a former citizen of Texas and who is a friend of the RAINEY family in Texas, declared that his view was that the Texas legislature was endeavoring to control the hiring and firing of the faculty at the University of Texas. RAINEY endeavored to dismiss some of the senile members, including the Dean of the Law School. The legislature demanded that these dismissals be withdrawn and when RAINEY refused, this brought pressure on the Board of Trustees for RAINEY's dismissal.

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Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
December 17, 1944

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
February 3, 1945

Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, N. C.
March 11, 1945

All carried accounts showing GRAHAM's national activities in supporting Federal Assistance to Public Education.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau and who is reliable, provided the minutes of the meeting of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at Washington, D. C., on April 4, 1945. These minutes indicate GRAHAM supported State and Federal aid for medical assistance and Federal aid to States for education as well as a guarantee for all schools of a nine-months term and twelve grades together with a uniform State salary scale. GRAHAM declared that the Southern Conference should cooperate with its adjunct, The North Carolina Committee (which has as its [redacted] a known associate of the Communists), which should be requested to cooperate in this plan. After refusing, he directed that another organization should be formed that would affiliate with this plan.

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The Daily Tar Heel
University of North Carolina Newspaper
June 19, 1945

Carries an editorial pointing out GRAHAM's defense of Professor WERNER FRIEDERICH. [redacted] explained in 1938 that FRIEDERICH, a professor at the University, had advocated and published articles in behalf of the German and Italian cause in the war. This had brought upon him widespread attack primarily directed by [redacted] who has been mentioned here-inbefore. After entry into the war, however, FRIEDERICH changed his attitude and supported the allies actively. He volunteered service in the Army but was turned down because of physical reasons. Later, upon Dr. GRAHAM's recommendation, he was appointed to OWI. This appointment did not go through, however, because of the attacks published against the professor. GRAHAM declared that he supported him from the beginning because he knew him to be pro-German and pro-Italian rather than pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist.

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Daily Tar Heel
University of North Carolina
March 28, 1945

A meeting was held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, to organize a branch of the American United for World Organization. GRAHAM is a member of this group. MADRY explained that GRAHAM is a believer in World Federation, which belief dates ~~back~~ to his support of WILSON's original idea in the setup of the League of Nations. GRAHAM has made many speeches on this theme and does not believe, in MADRY's opinion, in the efface of the veto in the present United Nations setup.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] who is known to the Bureau and who is reliable, b2
said that on April 19, 1945, DOMBROSKI, Secretary of the Southern Conference b7D
for Human Welfare, had been in touch with FRANK GRAHAM discussing the
organizational work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and endeavor-
ing to arrange for an executive secretary for the group,

Mr. [redacted] University of North b7C
Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on August 6, 1945, stated Miss HELEN
MOLTON, writer for the New Republic, was invited by the Institute of Human
Relations to speak there along with DOMBROSKI for the purpose of interesting
University of North Carolina students in going to the San Francisco Peace
Conference. This trip was to be financed by the Southern Conference for
Human Welfare. On her way to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Miss MOLTON was
injured in an automobile accident, and at Dr. GRAHAM's insistence, the
Southern Conference Group paid her \$300 medical bill.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
January 4, 1946

Reveals a portion of an address delivered by Dr. GRAHAM before
the Statesville Lions Club, Statesville, North Carolina, setting forth the
needs of a Federation in World Government to control atomic power and that
atomic revolution requires a spiritual revolution in order that civilization
be not destroyed.

Durham Herald
Durham, North Carolina
January 21, 1947

GRAHAM made a speech advocating the training of as many Navy
officer candidates at civilian colleges as there are at Annapolis.

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News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
August 26, 1946

Reveals GRAHAM was named as one of the members of the National Board of Sponsors of the National Arthritis Research Foundation, which had been started by LIONEL BARRYMORE at Hot Springs, Arkansas.

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
October 1946

Records that at the time GRAHAM was given a Doctor of Laws Degree by Harvard University, he spoke saying that the United States "must share the knowledge and uses of atomic power with all peoples, for full production and fair distribution within the nations, and for justice and peace among the nations." [] explained that GRAHAM has supported the Baruch Plan and does not advocate unrestricted dissemination of atomic information.

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News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 8, 1946

President GRAHAM was awarded the 1946 Clendenin Award of the Workers Defense League for having shared in the struggle for labor's democratic rights in the South, his work with the National Sharecroppers Fund, and to improve the conditions of the negro. GRAHAM also opened the University of North Carolina to labor institutions. As has been previously reported, the Workers Defense League is known to have included Communists in its ranks.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 20, 1946

Dr. GRAHAM was elected head of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
November 29, 1946

Dr. FRANK GRAHAM was appointed by Governor BROUGHTON to the Committee of the South of the National Planning Association, which had as

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its purpose the interchange of ideas with business, labor, and agriculture to activate economy throughout the nations with emphasis on the South.

News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina
December 6, 1946

GRAHAM was named to a committee by President TRUMAN on Civil Rights, having as its purpose the condemning of organized groups which fan hatred and intolerance that cause mobile violence.

Alumni Review
University of North Carolina
December 1946

Dr. GRAHAM was selected for the Carolina Israelite gold medal given annually for furthering interfaith amity in the Carolinas.

Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
August 28, 1947

He was elected a member of the Directional Board of the National Organization Conference of the conference for Christians and Jews.

Durham Morning Herald
Durham, North Carolina
October 2, 1947

President TRUMAN named GRAHAM to the United Nations Security Committee arbitrating the dispute by the Indonesia and the Netherlands Government.

CREDIT AND CRIMINAL

Miss [REDACTED], Chapel Hill Police Department, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, examined her records negatively concerning the GRAHAM family.

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Mrs. [REDACTED], Chapel Hill Merchants Association, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, states GRAHAM and his family have a good credit rating.

REFERENCES AND ASSOCIATIONS

According to the Congressional Record, Wednesday, April 23, 1941, to which mention has been made hereinbefore, Congressman CARL DURHAM from Chapel Hill, North Carolina, made the following statement at the time he introduced the letter which Dr. GRAHAM had written to Mr. LEIB.

"I have known Dr. Frank Graham for over thirty years I doubt if anyone has been more useful or surpassed and held a closer place in the confidence, respect, and love of our people than Dr. Graham. His entire life has been full of useful services to the church, State, nation, and our democratic way of life. He is a Democrat without partisanship, bitterness, and narrowness. Living with him in a college community for the past thirty years has caused us to have a common interest in many matters of a public nature, and I know, by intimate association, of his loyalty to democracy and our institutions. He is truly a leader without show and has lived by that principle that what we do for ourselves will die with us, but that which we do for others is eternal and will live forever."

RALPH MCGILL, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, February 15, 1941, states "FRANK GRAHAM is a marvel to me. His tolerance and interpretation of Christianity as something real and not just an evasive sermon on Sundays earned for him some enemies. Some tried to say that there were Communist tendencies in his University. Others tried to say he was too liberal, and now the splendid irony of it is, that all those who opposed him, small and loud though they were, find he has not had to change a word he has said It is one of the greatest triumphs of this really great man that he now is saying only what he always has said, before there was any war or thought of war, and have it cheered by those whom he has inspired to uphold our Government and its principles."

Confidential Informant who is reliable and who has known Dr. GRAHAM well since 1925 with the exception of a few years during the 1930's states he is a fine, honest man whom he would recommend for any job but that of college president. GRAHAM, according to the informant, is too much of a crusader and lacks balance judgment necessary for a good administrator. Thoroughly trustworthy, religious, and loyal to this country, GRAHAM has done some things which are beyond the comprehension of a normal man; for instance, stated the informant, GRAHAM wired ALTON LAWRENCE, the Socialist who was mixed up in the strike trouble in North Carolina during the middle 1930's, not only that he would be glad to go on his bond but that GRAHAM believed him to be innocent of the charge for which he was arrested. In the first place, GRAHAM did not have to go on his bond using his own name, and even so, he certainly did not have to lend the dignity of a college president to such

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a false statement that a man was innocent before it had been properly decided by a court of law.

According to this informant, another thing GRAHAM did was to allow a group of college professors, one of whom was definitely a Communist, [redacted] solicit money under the name of the Workers Defense League for a bunch of strikers who had dynamited two factories.

Also, [redacted] who, in informant [redacted] opinion, is also a Communist, was kicked out of Wake Forest College because of his radical agitation, and Dr. GRAHAM immediately deliberately allowed him to enter the University of North Carolina, well aware of the facts.

Furthermore in 1944, members of the Negro Navy Band came to the University of North Carolina for a concert. While there, [redacted] the [redacted] of the [redacted] Church, to which Dr. GRAHAM belongs, invited the entire band to a Sunday picnic. They were accompanied to this picnic by a group of white girls, also members of that church. When they returned through town, they were intermingling and talking freely together in such a fashion that the people of the town became quite upset. The criticism of the minister was so strong that the board of trustees of the [redacted] Church held a meeting to decide whether his resignation should be asked. At that meeting Dr. FRANK GRAHAM defended the minister to the last degree, and the minister retained his place in the church.

In 1947, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] who is reliable, a group sponsored by the Fellowship Reconciliation including a number of conscientious objectors, who had served prison terms during the war, came through Chapel Hill on a text of the Jim Crow Law. [redacted] had both the negroes and the whites stay at his house the night preceding the day that they were to get on the bus and sit in violation of the North Carolina Seating Law. The next day, during the time of the text, considerable agitation and furty occurred in the town, and there was some fear that a mob of taxi drivers might become unruly. [redacted] took the negroes in his car and drove them to Greensboro, North Carolina, in order to avoid possible trouble. Again the members of the church brought [redacted] to task and again Dr. GRAHAM defended him most vigorously.

[redacted] has no objection to a man standing for his ideals. He is of the opinion, however, that by promoting agitation from such controversial issues that the cause of the liberal is hurt rather than advanced. He does not feel that Dr. GRAHAM has sought good judgment in such matters. [redacted] will recommend Dr. GRAHAM and his entire family as loyal and patriotic so long as Dr. GRAHAM has nothing to do with the selection of personnel.

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He considers him to be an individual who will make a loyal and responsible Governmental employee.

Confidential Informant [] who is considered a reliable informant, has known Dr. GRAHAM since [] and describes him as an individual who always wants to look out for the underdog. GRAHAM is deeply religious, does not drink or smoke, one of the best liked men in North Carolina, and a most brilliant individual who has no business being the president of the University of North Carolina. [] believes that Dr. GRAHAM, as a vigorous crusader, has alienated more respectable friends of the University than any other event occurring in the University history. He believes that manufacturers and industrialists, who were deliberately angered by the ALTON LAWRENCE affair and the activities of [] and other of the professors promoting obvious Communist inspired meetings on the campus, would have contributed much larger sums to the University had these events not been permitted to happen. [] will recommend Dr. GRAHAM as a loyal, conscientious American of great ability but does not believe he has the judgment to properly supervise the hiring and firing of any employees of the United States Government. [] also knows Dr. GRAHAM's family and relatives. These, he likewise considers thoroughly loyal and can offer no criticism concerning them.

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Confidential Informant [] who is thoroughly responsible and who has known Dr. GRAHAM since [] concurs in the opinion and recommendation stated by the informants [] and []

Mr. LEWIS E. GRAVES, Editor of the Chapel Hill Weekly, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, taught Dr. GRAHAM at the time he was a student at the University of North Carolina and has known him and his family since that time. He unqualifiedly recommends him and his family as brilliant, loyal, respectable Americans, who live a true orderly and democratic life. He considers FRANK GRAHAM as one of the finest men in the nation today.

[] The following investigation was conducted by SA []

AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

On October 27, 1947, JOHN J. PARKER, Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals, was interviewed at his office in the Federal Building of Charlotte and informed that he had known Dr. GRAHAM for over forty years; that he attended the University of North Carolina with GRAHAM where he was in constant association with him as a classmate; and that for the past fifteen years, he, Judge PARKER, has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina where he has continued this

association. Judge PARKER stated that it was largely through his influence that Dr. GRAHAM became the president of the University of North Carolina and that he personally had no doubt whatsoever concerning Dr. GRAHAM's loyalty to the United States. He pointed out that, while Dr. GRAHAM's name had been associated with various groups some of which allegedly are Communist infiltrated, he did not believe that Dr. GRAHAM subscribed to the Communist theory in such sense of the word but was completely loyal to this country. In this connection Judge PARKER stated that Dr. GRAHAM had associated himself with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which has been recently attacked by Dr. GRAHAM's critics. Judge PARKER advised that this organization was originally started to foster more harmonious relations between the negro and the white race in the South and that he was certain that Dr. GRAHAM's affiliation with it was solely for that purpose. Though there were persons within that organization who were Communistically inclined, he did not feel that Dr. GRAHAM was also thus inclined. He considered Dr. GRAHAM a person who thought on a higher sphere than most of his critics and that the greatest amount of criticism directed against him had been by a few people who could not agree with Dr. GRAHAM's policies. Judge PARKER considered him the greatest University President in the South and felt that he was a leader in the teaching profession, who is respected by most Southern scholars. Judge PARKER concluded that Dr. GRAHAM had always stood fundamentally for the American way of life, and he advised that he would have no hesitancy whatever in recommending him for any position of trust and responsibility.

Judge PARKER was equally well acquainted with Dr. GRAHAM's family advising that they abided by the same high principles and loyalties as Dr. GRAHAM. He described them as persons whose patriotic tendencies could not be questioned.

On October 28, 1947, Mr. C. W. TILLET, Attorney, whose office is located in the Law Building, informed that he has been acquainted with Dr. GRAHAM for almost fifty years, having grown up with him in Charlotte and roomed with him at the University of North Carolina. Mr. TILLET maintained a close association with Dr. GRAHAM over this period, stating that it would hardly been closer had Dr. GRAHAM resided in his own home. He characterized GRAHAM as a loyal and patriotic citizen who also had a strong sense of Christianity. He regarded him as a person who is as loyal to the United States as any other loyal person and compared his loyalty to that of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THOMAS JEFFERSON and other historical figures. Mr. TILLET stated that GRAHAM was intellectual, honest and that from his long association with him, he would heartily recommend him for any position requiring the services of a loyal and substantial American citizen. Mr. TILLET was also well acquainted with Dr. GRAHAM's family and has maintained

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a similar association with its members. He described Dr. GRAHAM's brothers and sisters as persons of high character whose loyalty was unquestioned.

Dr. GRAHAM's sisters, HATTIE and MARY GRAHAM, are not identified with a credit or criminal record.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] b7C

AT ROCKY MOUNT, NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. KEMP BATTLE, reference and prominent attorney, Peoples Bank Building, stated that he is naturally biased in his opinion of Dr. FRANK GRAHAM as they have always been very close and were classmates together at the University of North Carolina in 1909.

Mr. BATTLE stated that, in his opinion, no one has a better character and reputation and is more unselfish than Dr. GRAHAM. He further stated that because of his benevolence and understanding, Dr. GRAHAM at times defends the point of view of the minority, wherein, his real motive is to assist another individual in need. Mr. BATTLE advised that he can definitely say that Dr. GRAHAM is 100% loyal to the United States based upon his close association with him.

Mr. BATTLE advised that he and Dr. GRAHAM in 1932 introduced a proposal to revise the Constitution of North Carolina solely because at that time the original Constitution had become outdated and inadequate in many respects. He said that the governor gave them the go signal before the campaign was launched and further that Judge J. J. PARKER, Judge JOHNSON HAYES, Greensboro, North Carolina, Attorney [REDACTED] and many other prominent citizens backed the campaign.

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Mr. BATTLE advised that he would recommend Dr. GRAHAM for the position which he seeks without reservation or hesitation.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informant

Confidential source in the report of SA [redacted] Arkansas,

dated [redacted] b7C

Confidential Informant

[redacted] who b7C
is reliable and has known Dr. GRAHAM for many years.

Confidential Informant

A highly confidential source mentioned in the report of SA [redacted] New Jersey, dated May 5, 1941, entitled [redacted] b7C

Confidential Informant

Mr. [redacted] North Carolina, who is mentioned in the report of SA [redacted] North Carolina, dated [redacted] entitled [redacted] b7C

Confidential Informant

A trash cover mentioned in the report of SA [redacted] dated [redacted] entitled [redacted] b7C

Confidential Informant

A highly confidential source set forth in the report of [redacted] at [redacted] Virginia, dated [redacted] b7C

Confidential Informant

A highly confidential source mentioned in the report of SA [redacted] dated [redacted] entitled [redacted] b7C

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Confidential Informant

A highly confidential source mentioned in
the report of SA [redacted]
dated [redacted] entitled [redacted]
[redacted]

Confidential Informant

Mr. [redacted]
[redacted] North
Carolina, and a member of [redacted]
[redacted] with
Dr. GRAHAM, who is an informant by request.

Confidential Informant

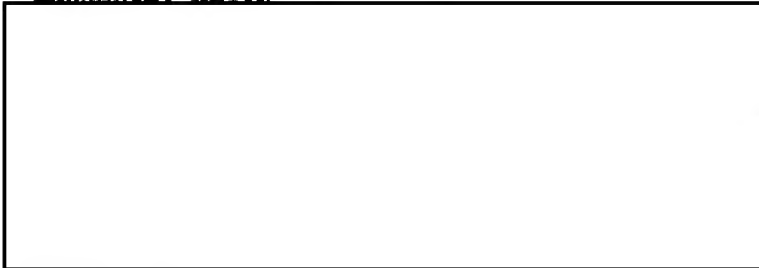
[redacted] member of [redacted]
of the [redacted]
[redacted] North Carolina, who is an informant
by request.

Confidential Informant

[redacted] North
Carolina, who is carried with a separate
symbol inasmuch as the information given
at the time of the interview is of a
different date than the time he was carried
as [redacted] It is requested in all matters
pertaining to Dr. GRAHAM that the source
not be revealed.

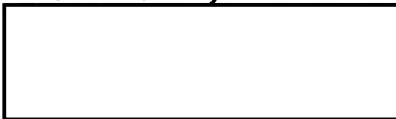
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LAWRENCE, ALTON





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MADRY, W. R.
MARCANTONIO, VITO





b7C

NATIONAL STUDENTS FEDERATION OF AMERICA
NATIONAL YOUTH CONGRESS

 MRS.


b7C


ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR


b7C



b7C

SOUTHERN SUMMER SCHOOL FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRY



b7C

THOMAS, NORMAN



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TITLE: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

CHARACTER OF CASE: ATOMIC ENERGY ACT -
EMPLOYEE

SPECIAL AGENT: [REDACTED]

b7C

DATE: 11-1-47

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TELETYPE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 5 1947

TELETYPE

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | ..... |
| Mr. E. A. Tamm | ..... |
| Mr. Clegg | ..... |
| Mr. Glavin | ..... |
| Mr. Ladd | ..... |
| Mr. Nichols | ..... |
| Mr. Rosen | ..... |
| Mr. Tracy | ..... |
| Mr. Egan | ..... |
| Mr. Gurnea | ..... |
| Mr. Harbo | ..... |
| Mr. Mohr | ..... |
| Mr. Pennington | ..... |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm | ..... |
| Mr. Nease | ..... |
| Miss Gandy | ..... |

FBI CHARLOTTE

11-5-47

805 PM

HGM

DIRECTOR FBI

URGENT

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM DASH ONE, AEA. REPORT SUBMITTED NOVEMBER
ONE LAST.

THORNTON

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G. I. R. 2

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD *[initials]*
 FROM : V.P. Keary *[initials]*
 SUBJECT: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927
 ATOMIC ENERGY ACT - EMPLOYEE

DATE: September 20, 1947

[Handwritten signature: EW]
 Mr. Tolson
 Mr. E. A. Tamm
 Mr. Clegg
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Ladd
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tracy
 Mr. Carson
 Mr. Egan
 Mr. Gurnea
 Mr. Harbo
 Mr. Hendon
 Mr. Pennington
 Mr. Quinn Tamm
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Nease
 Miss Beahm
 Miss Gandy

Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and a prominent Southern educator, is also President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, and on this basis the Atomic Energy Commission has requested an investigation in accordance with the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act.

A previous Bureau investigation captioned "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD, INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT" reflected that although Graham has held membership in a number of organizations which are reported to be Communist infiltrated, there was no evidence of Communist Party membership or affiliation. It is noted that Graham's integrity and high principles were recommended by SAC Scheidt, an acquaintance of more than twenty years, who pointed out that Graham has been a "somewhat controversial figure" in North Carolina.

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ACTION:

The fact that this matter is being referred to the Field for investigation is brought to your attention for purposes of information in view of Graham's prominence.

HET:hp

See that investigation is complete & thorough.

K.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *DL*
 FROM : V. P. Kea *VPK*
 SUBJECT: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - 1 - 42927
 Atomic Energy Act - Employee *UN*

DATE: November 13, 1947

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | _____ |
| Mr. E. A. Tamm | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy | _____ |
| Mr. Carson | _____ |
| Mr. Egan | _____ |
| Mr. Gurnea | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo | _____ |
| Mr. Hendon | _____ |
| Mr. Pennington | _____ |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Nease | _____ |
| Miss Beahm | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |

Reference is made to my previous memorandum to you dated September 20, 1947, which reflected that the Atomic Energy Commission requested an investigation of Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, and a prominent Southern educator, on the basis that he is President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies *VPK*

For your information, the investigation has been completed and copies of all reports have been furnished to the Atomic Energy Commission.

The investigation developed substantially the same information as was previously reported in the matter captioned, "Frank Porter Graham, National War Labor Board, Internal Security, Hatch Act." Briefly, it is shown that although Graham has held membership in a number of organizations which are reported to be Communist infiltrated, there was no evidence of Communist Party membership or affiliation. He is generally described as a brilliant individual who always wants to look out for the underdog. Reliable informants, who are aware of Graham's membership in Communist front groups, state that Graham became affiliated with these groups for the stated purpose of the organizations and not to aid the Communist ideologies. *on*

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: February 16, 1948

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: MR. GRAHAM
AEA APPLICANT OR EMPLOYEE

During the course of investigation in another matter SA [redacted] of this office recently interviewed Mr. [redacted] an executive with the Employers Association of Chicago, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] advised that his [redacted], "National Business News," Room 858, National Press Building, Washington, D.C., had at some previous time discussed with [redacted] one Mr. GRAHAM. GRAHAM, according to the information furnished [redacted] by [redacted], is on the faculty of the University of North Carolina and is engaged there in important work for the Atomic Energy Commission. [redacted] also allegedly told [redacted] that he, [redacted] was shocked that GRAHAM, who is known to be a member of subversive organizations and who without any doubt on [redacted] part is a Communist, should be doing vital work for the Atomic Energy Commission. [redacted] recalled that [redacted] mentioned that GRAHAM in about 1943 and 1944 had been a public member of the War Labor Board in Washington, D.C.

b7C

[redacted] could furnish no further information in the above regard, but he suggested that [redacted] be contacted should such further information be desired. [redacted] stated that he did not mind having his name used in connection with any interview of [redacted] and expressed the opinion that [redacted] would be quite agreeable and cooperative in furnishing information to the Bureau concerning GRAHAM.

The files of the Chicago Office fail to reflect any additional information identifiable with this matter, and the information set out above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and the Charlotte Office. *MC*

AJR:MB
116-0-CC: Charlotte
Chicago file 116-5321

RECORDED

&
INDEXED

31 FEB 28 1948

EX-58

62 MAR 10 1948

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

FROM : Mr. V. P. Keay

SUBJECT: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
SPECIAL INQUIRY
WHITE HOUSE

DATE: August 13, 1948

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

42474

Mr. [] to the President, called Mr. [] on August 10, 1948, and requested that the Bureau make available to him the investigative reports on Dr. Frank Porter Graham, who was being considered for a Presidential appointment. Mr. [] stated that he had been informed by the Atomic Energy Commission that the Bureau had investigated Dr. Graham in 1947. It was these reports that he desired.

Mr. [] After appropriate clearance from you, Mr. [] supplied to of the White House the following Bureau reports on Dr. Graham:

Report of Special Agent [] dated November 1, 1947, at Charlotte, North Carolina;

Report of Special Agent [] dated October 23, 1947, Washington, D. C.;

Report of Special Agent [] dated October 14, 1947, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Upon delivering these reports to Mr. [], he confidentially informed Mr. [] that Dr. Graham is being considered by the President for an appointment to the Presidential Committee on Race Discrimination in the Armed Forces.

ACTION:

This memorandum should be placed in the main file of Dr. Graham, (116-30356)

RECORDED - 44

116 - 30356 - 12
F B I
33 AUG 17 1948

RRR:KK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : H. B. Fletcher

DATE: August 19, 1948

FROM : V. P. Keay *VPK*SUBJECT: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
ATOMIC ENERGY ACT - EMPLOYEE
SPECIAL INQUIRY - WHITE HOUSE

b7C

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | _____ |
| Mr. E. A. Tamm | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg | _____ |
| Mr. Coffey | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy | _____ |
| Mr. Carson | _____ |
| Mr. Egan | _____ |
| Mr. Gurnea | _____ |
| Mr. Hendon | _____ |
| Mr. Pennington | _____ |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Nease | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |

There are attached three Bureau reports on Dr. Frank Porter Graham dated October 14, 1947 at Knoxville, October 23, 1947 at Washington, D. C., and November 1, 1947 at Charlotte, North Carolina. These reports were returned to Mr. [] of the Liaison Section by Mr. [] to the President. As you will recall, they were previously furnished to the White House pursuant to Mr. [] request.

ACTION:

These reports may now be placed in the main file on Dr. Graham.

Attachment

RRR:AM

RECORDED - 91

INDEXED - 91

116-30356-13
 33 AUG 20 1948

*above reports
transmitted to
Payton 2-15-49
VHB*

3
 33 AUG 26 1948

WTK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b7C

TO : MR. FLETCHER *WFO*

FROM : V. P. KEAY *VPE*

SUBJECT: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
SECURITY CLEARANCE GRANTED BY AEC

DATE: January 18, 1949

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Egan ✓
Mr. Gurnea ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Pennington ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

You will recall that the Atomic Energy Commission recently granted clearance for access to restricted data to Dr. Frank Porter Graham, head of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies. You will also recall the controversy which has been discussed in newspapers and particularly on the radio program of Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio commentator. From the nature of the information in the possession of Fulton Lewis, Jr., it appears that he must have had access to the confidential files of the AEC.

While being contacted on other matters, AEC Commissioner Lewis L. Strauss advised Special Agent [] in the utmost confidence that he is very concerned over the developments in connection with the Graham case. He has been acquainted personally with Fulton Lewis, Jr. for many years and has always considered him to be an honest person. Last Wednesday morning Lewis called Strauss and asked him about the Graham case. Mr. Strauss told Lewis that he could not recall the details of the case but that it was his understanding that Graham had been cleared by the Commission. Lewis then told Strauss that he knew that the Roberts Board (the AEC Security Review Board headed by Justice Roberts) had recommended against clearing Dr. Graham and that he knew that Lilienthal had appeared before the Roberts Board in connection with this case and had withdrawn the file when it became evident that the Board was going to recommend denying clearance to Graham.

Mr. Strauss stated to SA [] that Lewis could not possibly have found out this information unless there was a very definite leak of information within the Commission. According to Mr. Strauss, Lewis subsequently contacted [] a former member of the Roberts Board and informed [] of the statements he anticipated making over the radio that evening. He asked [] for his comments but [] refrained from making any but later told Mr. Strauss that what Fulton Lewis had quoted to him over the telephone was exactly correct. Mr. Strauss advised SA [] that Lewis then contacted Justice Roberts at the University of Pennsylvania for approximately the same purpose. Roberts later told Strauss that he was very much concerned since it appeared that Lewis had access to some very confidential files in the Commission.

Mr. [] told Strauss that he had personally handled the review of the Graham case and had written a memorandum consisting of approximately one and one-half pages in which he reviewed the derogatory information and pointed out that the Board had voted to deny clearance to Graham. He had not retained a copy of this memorandum and asked Mr. Strauss if he could have a copy. Strauss, therefore, left orders for the complete Graham file and a copy of Humphrey's memorandum to be on his desk the first thing Friday morning. On Friday morning only the Graham file was on his desk and it did not contain the [] memorandum. Strauss has not yet been able to find either the original or a copy of [] memorandum and no one in the Commission seems to recall having seen it. Mr. Strauss is extremely concerned

RWL:mk
116-30356

b7C

Not Classifiable per DOE letter dated 9-14-78

MR. FLETCHER

over this situation and stated that he desired the Bureau to be cognizant of these facts.

Dr. Graham was investigated under the Atomic Energy Act in the fall of 1947 in connection with his position as President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies. This investigation disclosed that he has held membership in numerous organizations reportedly Communist infiltrated such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and the National Student Federation of America, and that he has supported several Communist infiltrated schools. However, no evidence has been received indicating his membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party and he has consistently denied holding Communist views. He is generally described as an outspoken opponent of racial discrimination and unfair employment practices and reliable sources state that his affiliation with questionable groups was due to his agreement with their humanitarian objectives rather than any intention of assisting the Communist movement.

ACTION: This is for your information.

W. H. L. J. H. K.

Mr David I. Lilienthal,
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington D.C.

Feb. 3, 1949

Sir:

According to information I have obtained from Fulton Lewis radio broadcasts, Dr Frank P. Graham, President of the University of N. Carolina is an admitted member of numerous communist front organizations yet you have approved him for a position connected with the Atomic Energy Commission; notwithstanding two government agencies have unanimously disapproved of him.

This will serve notice on you that should Dr Graham or anyone else is appointed by you, knowing him of them to be a communist or member of any communist front organization, and should such appointee or appointees ever become a risk to our foreign or domestic economy or our traditional form of government, you must answer to me personally for such assinine judgement.

Sincerely yours

Copies to
G. Edgar Hoover,
Chief, F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Hon. Millard E. Tydings,
Washington D.C.

Hon. Tom Connally
Washington D.C.

b7C

RECORDED - 46

INDEXED - 46

EX-1

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
F.B.I.

FEB 1 2 58 PM '49

DIVISION SECTION
ATOMIC ENERGY

RECEIVED FEB 1 1949

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Peyton Ford
 The Assistant to the Attorney General

SUBJECT:

DATE: February 10, 1949

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | ..... |
| Mr. Clegg | ..... |
| Mr. Glavin | ..... |
| Mr. Ladd | ..... |
| Mr. Nichols | ..... |
| Mr. Rosen | ..... |
| Mr. Tracy | ..... |
| Mr. Egan | ..... |
| Mr. Gurnea | ..... |
| Mr. Harbo | ..... |
| Mr. Mohr | ..... |
| Mr. Pennington | ..... |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm | ..... |
| Mr. Nease | ..... |
| Miss Gandy | ..... |

Transmitted herewith is copy of a letter dated February 4, 1949, from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, advising that in accordance with paragraph 5 of our joint memorandum of April 8, establishing a procedure for making personnel security reports, records, and files of the Atomic Energy Commission available to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the file of Dr. Frank Porter Graham was delivered to Mr. [redacted] an authorized Joint Committee staff member, on January 26, 1949.

I would appreciate receiving copies of the F.B.I. reports which have heretofore been furnished the Atomic Energy Commission in the case of the above individual. These reports will be reviewed in my office, and as soon as they have been reviewed they will be returned to you under confidential cover.

b7C

RECORDED - 60

EX-147

116-30356-16

memo to Peyton Ford
 V H B 2-15-49

S.B.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

IN REPLY REFER TO:

February 4, 1949

Dear Mr. Clark:

In accordance with Paragraph 5 of our joint memorandum of April 8, 1948, establishing a procedure for making personnel security reports, records, and files of the Atomic Energy Commission available to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, there is listed below the personnel security file which was delivered to Mr. [REDACTED] an authorized Joint Committee staff member, on January 26, 1949;

b7C

Dr. Frank Porter Graham AEC File No. 43927

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

David E. Lillenthal
Chairman

Honorable Tom C. Clark
The Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 JP/SLK
ON 10-30-78 per DOE letter
dated 9-14-78.

1/6 30356-16

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

116-30356 / 6

Mr. Peyton Ford
The Assistant to the Attorney General

February 15, 1949

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
Atomic Energy Act - Employee

EX-141

Please refer to your memorandum of February 10, 1949, requesting copies of reports reflecting the results of an employee investigation of Doctor Graham under the Atomic Energy Act in connection with his position as President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Enclosed, for your information, is one copy each of the following reports received during that investigation:

Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated b7C
October 14, 1947, at Knoxville, Tennessee;
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated
October 23, 1947, at Washington, D. C.;
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated b7C
November 1, 1947, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

These reports need not be returned to this Bureau.

Enclosure

VHB:arm

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
FEB 16 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED

RECEIVED

FEB 12 11 35 AM '49

RECEIVED
FEB 15 3 27 PM '49
FEB 16 11 35 AM '49

RECEIVED-TOLSON
FBI
FEB 15 2 12 PM '49

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

IN REPLY REFER TO:

February 24, 1949

Dear Mr. Clark:

In accordance with Paragraph 5 of our joint memorandum of April 8, 1948, establishing a procedure for making personnel security reports, records, and files of the Atomic Energy Commission available to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, there is listed below the personnel security file which was delivered to Mr. [redacted] b7C an authorized Joint Committee staff member, on February 11, 1949:

Dr. Frank Porter Graham AEC File No. 42927

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Sumner T. Pike
Acting Chairman

Honorable Tom C. Clark
The Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED

DATE 10-1-78

BY

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 JJP/dff
ON 10-30-78 per DOE
letter dated 9-14-78.

RECORDED - 137

116-30356-17

G.I.R.-7

96

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SK

BROADCAST OF FULTON LEWIS, JR.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1949

The Senate confirmation of Mr. Dean Acheson as the new secretary of State seems to be a certainty tonight, as the Senate Foreign Relations committee, after some two hours of testimony this morning, in which they heard just two witnesses, and then closed the hearings without hearing any opponents of the nomination.

The witnesses they did hear were Mr. Acheson himself, and former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., under whom Mr. Acheson was Assistant Secretary. After the hearings had been declared closed, Chairman Connally released a telegram from former Assistant Secretary of State Adolph Berle, who had been a critic of Mr. Acheson. The telegram had been advertised in advance as an endorsement of the Acheson appointment, but when the actual text of it was made public, it turned out to be nothing more than a statement that Mr. Berle was not going to oppose the nomination, reiterating, however, most of the statements which he previously had made about Mr. Dean Acheson and his former conciliatory attitude toward Soviet Russia.

To boil the facts of the two-hour hearing down to a few words, here is what they amounted to:

Mr. Acheson said that Mr. Berle had been mistaken when he told the UnAmerican activities committee of the House last August that Alger Hiss had been Mr. Acheson's executive assistant in the State Department. He said it was Donald Hiss, instead--the brother of Alger--who was his assistant, and he confirmed the fact that Donald Hiss was taken into his law firm after Donald Hiss had a physical breakdown.

As the questioning went on, he first said that the only time Alger Hiss even reported to him, during his State Department career, was for the last few months. He then specified the exact dates, and the "last few months" turned out to be a year and 3 months.

He finally said that Alger Hiss was his friend.....that he, Acheson, does not make or break friendships easily, and that Alger Hiss and he are still friends--in spite of the latter's indictment and alleged connection with the Communist spy ring which was stealing secret documents out of the State Department for the Soviet Russian government.

He confirmed the fact that his law firm negotiated the 90 million dollars worth of loans for the Communist government of Poland, and that Donald Hiss did the work on the Polish deal for the law firm, but said that he, Acheson, was not a member of the firm at the time, although his name was carried on the letter head. He said that is customary procedure -- for a firm to carry the name of a member after he has severed relationship with the firm. No one asked Mr. Acheson whether, during the time he was in the State Department, and his name was still on the firm's stationery, it was his plan or arrangement to go back into the firm when he got out of the State Department. In fact, no one asked anything very much.

Mr. Acheson did say that while he was still Under-secretary of State, he issued the orders to suspend further payments on the Polish loans, and that his firm severed its connections with the Polish government, but there was no information offered and no questions asked, as to how much of the Polish loan was allowed to go through before it was suspended.

He told the Committee that when he becomes Secretary of State he will recommend that his name be dropped from the name of the law firm.

About Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and the action of the Atomic Energy Commission giving him complete clearance for all atomic secrets despite the fact that the security officer of the commission flatly rejected him, and the security advisory board of the commission, headed by former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts did likewise, by a unanimous five man decision, there are further developments tonight.

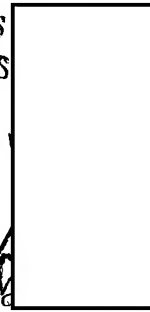
President Truman was asked to comment on the matter today at his press and radio conference, and his reply was that he has complete confidence in Dr. Graham and that, in spite of the published statements to the contrary, he doubts whether there was any objection to Dr. Graham. On that score, with all respect to the President, I can only reiterate the disclosures I made over this microphone last night, and challenge Mr. Truman himself to call for the records from the Atomic Energy Commission, and if he does so, he will find the facts exactly as I stated them to you

11/2
Nov 8 9 20 AM '54
REC'D ESPIONAGE
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

OCT 25 1954
NOV 1 1954

INCONS
OUTCONS

116-30356-
NOT RECORDED
70 NOV 3 1954



b7C

63 NOV 8 - 1954 34

*Exp. initials on
photo sheet*

last night. Dr. Graham was turned down by the security officer of the commission, that officer refusing to approve him; the case went to the distinguished board of security, headed by Mr. Justice Roberts, who studied it intensively, and on last May 28 turned it down by unanimous vote, and what Mr. Truman does or does not believe cannot alter those facts in any way.

The defenders of Dr. Graham today offered the apology that during the time he joined the various subversive and Communist front organizations-- organizations so listed by the Attorney General of the United States--this country was a co-belligerent with Soviet Russia, and numerous people joined such groups and causes. That argument is going to sound very very thin to most American citizens, because the overwhelming majority of us would have no part of any Communist or communist front connections at any time. But granted, for the sake of argument, that there is some justification in it, the question arises,--all right; so good for the past, but what about the present--NOW. This is the present.....and Dr. Graham has been approved for access to all of our most secret atomic information--information on which the future security of the nation may well hinge. Is he willing NOW, for the future, to publicly resign and disavow all connections with any organizations that are listed as Communist or Communist front or subversive organizations at this, the present time?

I have been trying to get hold of Dr. Graham by telephone for some days, to ask him that and some other questions, but was never able to reach him. Finally, last night, I sent a telegram to him at the University in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, stating the questions and asking for an answer. I received from him this afternoon a telegram of reply, which I want to read to you in full.

My first question was: "Are you aware that both the security officer and the Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission flatly rejected you for security clearance on atomic energy information?" Dr. Graham's answer: "I know nothing of any action, except the decision of the Atomic Energy Commissioner".

Now on this 2nd question perhaps I'd better give you the other two along with it, because apparently from the telegram Dr. Graham seems to have lumped all of his answers into one. The questions were as follows:

- 2) Are you aware of a reportedly extensive Communist cell among the student body of the university you head?
- 3) Will you comment on the occasion of the twelve University of North Carolina professors who signed a Christmas declaration in a Winston-Salem newspaper, urging that indictment of the twelve Communist party leaders be dropped?
- 4) Are you willing to resign publicly from all organizations which are listed as subversive, Communist or Communist-front organizations in view of your present access to Atomic Energy information?

Dr. Graham's answer: "I have always been opposed to Communism and all totalitarian dictatorships. I opposed both Nazi and Communist aggression against Czechoslovakia, and the earlier Russian aggression against Finland, and later Communist aggression against other countries. I was for aid to Britain against Germany, when Germany had the pact with Russia. I was a member of the William Allen White Committee and the Fight for Freedom Committee. During the period of my active participation, the overwhelming number of members of the Southern Conference" (presumably the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, listed as a Communist front and subversive organisation) "were to my knowledge anti-Communist. There were several isolationist stands of the conference with which I disagreed. The stands which I support as the main business of the Conference were such as the following:

"Federal aid to the States for schools, abolition of freight rate discrimination against southern commerce, agriculture and industry; anti-poll tax bill; anti-lynching bill; equal right of qualified negroes to vote in both primaries and general elections; the unhindered lawful right of labor to organize and bargain collectively in our region; agricultural cooperative societies; tenant farmers union; soil conservation; the industrial development of the South; minimum wages and social security in the Southern and American tradition. It was for a number of years one Southwide organization, open to all citizens of both races in which whites and negroes could work together simply as human beings for building up the South. There has been no general meeting for about two years. I have from the beginning been a member of Americans for Democratic Action which debars Communists from membership. I belong to the wing of the A D A which supported Truman all the way. I have continued to support the Baruch-Acheson-Lillienthal plan for the inspection and control of atomic energy resources and consider the Russian refusal to cooperate a major set-back for the whole world.

"I was on committees against Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco in Spain, for aid to China against Japan, against sending scrap iron to Japan; for civil liberties and other such committees during the last score or more of years. I joined with generals of the U.S. Army during the war in sponsoring a salute to the Red Army, holding the gate at Stalingrad. I am still glad that the gate held, and pray that the energies at Stalingrad will not be turned for further aggressions against freedom.

"The overwhelming majorities of the people along with whom I sponsored these committees, were well known as loyal Americans. If members of these committees had ulterior aims, it was without our knowledge or approval. From past experience, I am aware of Communist technique of infiltration into organizations with good purposes. However, I do not now renounce any stand I made for human freedom. I supported the major domestic and foreign policies of Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt including such Roosevelt policies as lifting the embargo, providing the 50 destroyers to Britain, and lend-lease to the Allies. I have from the beginning supported the Marshall plan. I support Mr. Jossup's strong statement of the American stand in the Security Council against Communist and Dutch Attempts to destroy the Republic of Indonesia.

"At the University of North Carolina we stand for the lawful freedom of our students to have their own political organization. The far largest number are Democrats, the next largest are Republicans and the third largest number are States Rights Democrats. There are a number of followers of Norman Thomas and a fewer number who are followers of Henry Wallace who include a dozen or so Communists to whom we accord and will continue to accord the lawful freedom of this community. While personally holding that a membership in the Communist party is not per se proof of an individual's crime against the government, I uphold Chancellor House in the decision to follow the ruling of the state law to deny the use of a state building to a man under federal indictment on the grounds of being involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force."

I see I don't have time to finish the remainder of it. There's a little bit more. By way of explanation of the last paragraph, the university had granted the use of an auditorium on the campus to one of the 12 indicted communist leaders to make a speech there last night, sponsored by small groups on the college campus. Yesterday morning the chancellor of the university cancelled the permit for use of the auditorium.

Now let me read you, after all these words in Dr. Graham's answer, the simple question that was asked, and it is very simple.

Question: Are you willing to resign publicly from all organizations which are listed as subversive, Communist or Communist front organizations in view of your present access to Atomic Energy information?

I leave the decision to you as to whether or not Dr. Graham answered the question.

BROADCAST OF FULTON LUTIS, JR.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1949

Mr. Dean Acheson, President Truman's nominee for the job of Secretary of State in the incoming administration, is one step nearer Senate confirmation tonight, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee having approved the gentleman today, after a two-hour executive session at which he was present, by unanimous vote. That included favorable action by the Republicans as well as by the Democrats. There were, however, several members of the committee who said privately that despite their action of approval today, they still are not sure they will vote in favor of his confirmation on the Senate Floor. They want to hear more facts on the various angles of criticism, and their action today was merely giving him the benefit of the doubt, until the additional facts are available.

At the moment, however, there seems to be no question whatsoever about the nomination going through, and Senator Connally announced that he will bring the nomination up for action on the Senate Floor on Tuesday.

At the close of today's session, Senator Connally read a two-paragraph statement which Mr. Acheson made before the committee today, with the obvious intent of allaying public concern as to any possibility of friendliness by Mr. Acheson toward Russia and any possible policy of appeasement that might be foreboded by this appointment. The statement reads as follows:

"It is my view that Communism as a doctrine is economically fatal to a free society and to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

"Communism as an aggressive factor in world conquest is fatal to independent government and to free peoples."

That would certainly seem to be frank enough to clear the atmosphere on that score, and members of the committee indicated that in the cross examination of Mr. Acheson by committee members today, the atmosphere was cleared on other scores as well. Mr. Acheson's statement, however, that Alger Hiss was his friend and still is, continues to stand, and it may have troublesome impacts. Mr. Isaac Don Levine, editor of Plain Talk Magazine in New York, and a long time thoroughly magnificent crusader against Communism, informed me this afternoon that he sent word to Senator Vandenberg that that statement may have very unfortunate effect on the grand jury proceedings in New York, where the Alger Hiss case, and the whole question of Communist espionage in the government is under consideration. He said it also might have an effect on the trial jury that hears the Alger Hiss case under the present indictment, and that in order to nullify any such effect, he feels that Whitaker Chambers, the accuser of Hiss, should be permitted to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee and cross examine Mr. Dean Acheson, on his reasons for making the statement he did.

Chairman Connally, at the close of today's session told reporters that Mr. Acheson discussed with the Committee intimate and delicate problems of foreign relations. When a reporter asked whether he discussed also his relations with the Hiss brothers, and the other angles of criticism that have been raised regarding his law firm, Senator Connally said "the committee members have very inquisitive minds."

Last night I tried to read to you a telegram which I had received from Dr. Frank Porter Graham, the president of the University of North Carolina, in purported answer to four questions I had submitted to him by wire, but unfortunately I did not quite have time to complete that text of the telegram, and in order to keep complete faith with Dr. Graham, I want to read that remaining paragraph now:

"I uphold the right of the 12 members of the University Faculty to declare against the indictment. Our faculty, with all their intellectual freedom, are conservative or liberal in the highest American tradition and will be protected in their freedom as honorable university teachers and lawful and decent American citizens. I have been called a Communist by some sincere people. I have been called a spokesman of American capitalism by Communists and repeatedly called a tool of imperialism by the radio from Moscow. I shall simply continue to oppose KuKluxism, imperialism, Fascism, and Communism, whether in America, Indonesia, or behind the Iron Curtain."

That is the end of the telegram.

The defense of the 12 members of the faculty refers, of course, to the proclamation published in a Winston-Salem newspaper at Christmas time, signed by 12 members of Dr. Graham's University faculty, decrying the indictment, by the federal Grand Jury in New York, of the 12 leaders of the Communist party for conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. The statement said that the undersigned were alarmed at the prosecution of the Communist party leaders, not for anything they have done, but rather for social views that they hold. Dr. Graham, in this telegram, supports them in that position. The fact is, of course, that the argument is totally untrue. The Communist party leaders are not being prosecuted for social views that they hold and if the 12 professors at Dr. Graham's university were competent to be professors, they would never make such a spurious and superficial contention. As I have pointed out to you before, the social views of the Communist party are identical with those of Mr. Norman Thomas' Socialist party, and nobody is prosecuting Mr. Norman Thomas. He is a highly respected, deeply admired American citizen, beloved by millions who disagree with his theories but ardently respect his right to hold them. The difference lies in the fact that Mr. Thomas and his Socialist party want to accomplish their purposes at the ballot box, by peaceful and honorable means, and the Communists want to accomplish theirs by force and violence and overthrow of the government and by cheating, and lying, and misrepresenting and by any other immoral or illegal means that will get results. And that difference is the thing for which these 12 leaders of the Communist party are being prosecuted. There is no prosecution of their social views; they are being prosecuted for that part of their philosophy that involves traitorous conspiracy, and intent to overthrow our form of government. It seems odd that Dr. Graham himself fails to understand that, and supports their thoroughly specious contention.

As for that portion of Dr. Graham's answer which I read to you last night, referring to the action of the chancellor of the University in cancelling permission for the use of a university auditorium for a speech by a Communist, perhaps I had better give you a bit of factual fill-in, on that score. I have here before me a copy of the official University of North Carolina daily newspaper, published on the campus at Chapel Hill by the students. It is the issue of Tuesday of this week, and there's a big 5-column scare head, at the top, which says: "Editor of Communist Daily Worker Will Appear here tomorrow night..... Gates to talk on viewpoint of indictment.... Communist party, forum, sponsoring.... by Sam McKael..... John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, New York communist newspaper, and one of the 12 men recently indicted by the federal grand jury of New York, will speak in Memorial Hall tomorrow night at 6:45. Co-sponsored by the Carolina Forum and the Communist party of Chapel Hill, Gates will present the views of the men who were indicted for conspiracy. Gates is one of the 12 members of the National Board of the Communist party. The Board, in its entirety was indicted. A long list of activities and arrests lie behind Gates. In 1933 he was arrested in Warren, Ohio, and charged with 'making a loud noise without a permit'. In releasing the news that it was co-sponsoring a Communist speaker on the campus, the Carolina forum made the following statement:

"The Carolina Forum was founded for the purpose of bringing to the campus of the university well-informed persons to speak on current national and international problems. The forum maintains that it is its duty to present all points of view on these subjects.

"Embracing five major organizations who frequently brought speakers to the campus, the forum at times co-sponsors with minor organizations, speakers whose affiliations or backgrounds would make them of interest to the entire campus. The forum was approached by the Communist party of Chapel Hill in the hope that the Forum would co-sponsor with them a speaker who would present clearly the case of the 12 Communists recently indicted by the federal grand jury of New York. Thus, in line with the University's tradition of fairness to all points of view, the forum and the Communist party of Chapel Hill will jointly sponsor the speech of John Gates".

That is the end of the article, and that was on Tuesday of this week, just when the disclosures were beginning to break that the Atomic Energy Commission, in clearing the university's president Dr. Graham, had done so in spite of specific disapproval of him as a security risk by the security officer of the commission, and a unanimous vote of disapproval by the five members of the Owen J. Roberts Security Advisory Board of the Commission.

The next day, Wednesday--day before yesterday--the Chancellor of the University announced at the very last minute that the speech could not be held on University property because of a State Law, which denied the use of any State property to any person under indictment for conspiracy to overthrow the federal Government.

It was the action of the counsellor, which Dr. Graham supports in his telegram. He finds that it was all right for the Chancellor to refuse the hall to Gates, because he was under indictment, but it also was all right for the 12 members of his faculty to say that the indictment was not for anything they had done, but for their social views.

Now, as for Dr. Graham's connections and affiliations, I read off to you very faithfully, last night, a long list of organizations he provided as being ones with which he was connected, and I read to you also his defense that he belongs to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, listed as a Communist front organization, because he agrees with certain of the ideals and objectives of that organization. Remember, please, we are engaged in a cold war, just as we were engaged in a cold war in 1940 and 1941. And perhaps Dr. Graham would like to contend that back in those days, he thought it was perfectly proper for an individual to belong to and be honorary president of the German American Bund, on the defense that he agreed with some of the objectives of the Bund. Just how far does Dr. Graham think they would have gotten with that argument?

As for Dr. Graham's list of last night, perhaps he did participate in all of those organizations. Perhaps they all are very fine. But it so happens that he made just a few omissions from that list, and just to make the record as complete as possible, I think perhaps I should supply the omissions for you here tonight. The Atomic Energy Commission has seen fit to override its security officer and its security board, in granting Dr. Graham blanket approval for access to all of our most vital atomic secrets; let's have as full a record as possible on the gentleman, at least.

I have before me an official report of the House committee on UnAmerican Activities under date of June 16, 1947. Let me read:

"Frank Porter Graham urged freedom for Earl Browder (the head of the Communist party) and served as sponsor for a dinner which the publication Soviet Russia Today held to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Red Army. Soviet Russia Today was the official publication of the National Council for American Soviet Friendship, listed by the Attorney General as a Communist organization in December 1947 and again so listed last September.

He was also associated with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist party; the American League for Peace and Democracy; American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Committee for Boycott against Japanese Aggression; Conference to Lift the Embargo; coordinating committee to lift the embargo; the Medical Bureau; the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. All of these organizations are listed as Communist or Communist front organizations, either by the Attorney General or by the UnAmerican Activities Committee or both".

Those are the affiliations which Dr. Graham forgot to include in his telegram of last night.

Now in view of the fact that the main question still remains unanswered, let's state the question again.

Is Dr. Graham willing, in view of his access to atomic energy secrets in spite of the protests of the security officer and the board, willing to publicly disavow his association with these organizations, and publicly resign from them, or is he not willing to do so. The question can be answered yes or no, and the public and the nation is entitled to an answer. He has not answered it as yet.

EXCERPT FROM BROADCAST OF FULTON LEWIS, JR.

MONDAY, JANUARY 17, 1949

Chairman Eugene Milliken of Colorado, of the Republican Conference of the Senate--which means the entire Senate Republican membership--and a member of the Joint Congressional watchdog committee on Atomic energy--announced this afternoon that he has written to Atomic Energy Commission Chairman David E. Lilienthal, demanding a full and complete record in the case of Dr. Frank Porter Graham, of the University of North Carolina--who, as you are well aware, by this time, was cleared for access to all atomic energy secrets by Mr. Lilienthal's commission, over the disapproval of the commission's security officer, and the unanimous disapproval of the Commission's security advisory board.

Under the law, the commission is bound to provide members of the Congressional joint committee with any information they request. Senator Milliken said that he intends to make the information public unless some question of technical or military secrets is involved, and that he has demanded the information because of the large number of inquiries he has received from citizens in his home State, and from other parts of the country. The commission itself has flatly refused, thus far, to confirm or deny the fact that its approval of Dr. Graham was made over the disapproval of the Security officer, and over the unanimous disapproval of the security advisory board. It contented itself with the simple statement that the Commission took its action after careful consideration of the case, making no reference one way or the other to the really essential facts in the controversy. I have twice tried to reach Mr. Lilienthal personally, and have been assured that he would call me back at a given time; on both occasions, he failed to do so. Commission members use the argument that the information is secret and confidential. Senator Milliken said this afternoon that after he gets the information, he will decide for himself whether it is or is not a subject of so-called security-secrecy.

Senator Ed. Johnson, a Democratic member of the same committee and also from Colorado, said the public is entitled to know the facts in the case and to have a frank explanation, and that in critical times such as these, every agency of the government--this one above all others--should be meticulously careful about who is and who is not cleared as a security risk.

Senator Brian McMahon of Connecticut, who is scheduled to be the new chairman of the committee in this new Democratic session of Congress, said that he is unfamiliar with the factual details of the case, but that inevitably the question will have to be brought up and threshed out in committee sessions, although he did not commit himself, even inferentially, to any open hearings.

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, also a Democrat and also a member of the Committee, said he feels very emphatically that the case of Dr. Graham, and Mr. Lilienthal's clearance of him, should be investigated by the committee, and the full record of the case laid before the joint committee.

From a practical standpoint, Mr. Truman seems to have placed the Democratic members of the committee in a rather difficult spot, by his off-the-cuff statement at a press and radio conference last week, that he was very sure that it was all a mistake about anybody objecting to Dr. Graham; that he, the President, had complete confidence in Dr. Graham; and so forth. It was just another one of the cases in which the President talked off the cuff, without getting a factual fill-in, before he spoke, and he was entirely and exactly wrong.

The fact is that even as of the time he was making the statement, Democratic leaders in Congress had checked the reported disapprovals of Dr. Graham with the Atomic Energy Commission, and had found that the reports--as you received them over this microphone--were true to the last dotting of an "i" and the crossing of a "t".

Graham

The wake of the inauguration found Washington a gloomy and uncomfortable city today -- gloomy because of the weather....there was a constant downpour of rain, without let up, with the pleasant promise from the weather bureau that it will turn to sleet and snow tonight....and uncomfortable because of an almost perpetual traffic jam due to the tremendous number of automobiles, of visitors, plus crowds of government workers, free for a shopping day as a result of the four day special vacation which Congress voted them in honor of the occasion. It took as long as 20 minutes to go a half dozen blocks in the downtown section of the city, and the fact is, it was easier and quicker to walk.

Strange to say, there still is virtually no comment, either from Democrats or Republicans, on the President's inaugural address of yesterday....everyone on all sides seems to be supercautious about Mr. Truman's talk of increased aid to the other friendly nations of the world as a means of fighting communism, and the general consensus seems to be that until they see specifically what he has in mind, they decline to underwrite it. Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, as spokesman for the Republicans in Congress on foreign affairs, said today that he certainly agrees with the President's appraisal of communism versus Democracy, and with his idea that the way for us to strengthen the world against communism, is to help the friendly nations to help themselves. He said we already are doing that in the Economic Cooperation Program. He said he even goes along with the President on the idea that we should extend to those nations our know-how, and the benefits of our technological progress along industrial lines, to help them to improve their own industrial system, and thus raise their standard of living. The fact is, he said, that that very thing is being undertaken within the Economic Cooperation program at the present time, and nothing is necessary further, so far as Congress is concerned. He then added the following paragraph:

"I cannot pass judgement upon the ballance of his new aid program until I know more concretely what he has in mind. I suggest however, that we perfect existing plans before starting new ones. The President himself says there are limits to our resources. I underscore that warning."

And that seems to be typical of private reaction in all quarters and from both sides of the political fence. Once again, it seems, this new scheme of the President's was strictly a concoction of his own, and one on which he did not confer or solicit any advice from Senate and House leaders, not even his own Democratic leaders nor did he even take them into his confidence on it. The first they knew of it was when they heard it in the Inaugural address. That method of procedure was bad enough in the last Congress, when the Republicans were in control. In view of the fact that the President himself wanted a bi-partisan foreign policy arrangement, it was to be expected that before arriving at any conclusions on foreign policy, he would take the Republican leaders of the 80th Congress and of course his own Democratic leaders along with them, into his confidence. But systematically, he failed to do so. Comes now, the Democratic controlled Congress that he asked the public to give him, and he does the same thing to them. The honeymoon is not going to last very long at this rate, and so far as the Republicans are concerned, it is over now, on Foreign Policy.. They say that Mr. Truman wants a bipartisan arrangement on foreign affairs, that will consist of everybody doing what he want them to do.

Now that the inauguration is over, the political spotlight switches to the Republicans, with their grass roots convention to be held next week in Omaha, Nebraska, at which no one is quite sure what is to be accomplished or attempted to be accomplished or attempted to be accomplished, if anything, but the session is going on nevertheless. Technically, it's a meeting of the Republican National Committee. By way of preparation for it, the Republican Policy Committee of the Senate met this afternoon for an extended discussion, by way of giving advice and instructions to the four Republican Senators who are going to attend the meeting as representatives of the views of the Senate Republicans. Senators Caphart of Indiana, Brewster of Maine, Butler of Nebraska, and Cherry also of Nebraska. Senator Taft of Ohio, the chairman of the Policy Committee was out of the city today, and therefore did not attend the meeting, and in his place, Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire was presiding. After the meeting he told newsmen that the general agreement within the policy committee was that there should be a more or less extensive reorganization of the National Committee structure in Washington, to provide Republicans in Congress with the kind of cooperation on information, strategy, speech-preparation and so forth, that those Republicans in Congress have NOT been getting in the past.

The committee shakeup, however, does not include any replacement of National Committee Chairman Hugh Scott, who is a member of Congress from Philadelphia, despite some agitation immediately after the election fiasco, to that end. A poll of the actual membership of the National Committee shows that Rep. Scott is completely secure in his job, and may get unanimous support of the committee. The Stassen supporters were at work very assiduously trying to maneuver a man of

their own selection into that job, but the plan failed to materialize.

by way of getting back to the case of our friend Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and his clearance for topsecret atomic information by Mr. David Lillienthal's atomic energy commission, despite his disapproval by the commission's security officer and its personnel security advisory board, under former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, I have here tonight an editorial from one of the local newspapers in Dr. Graham's little world there in North Carolina, which I'd like to read you, and which you'll find interesting, I think so, because it is a defense of Dr. Graham, by the home town boys, so to speak, and presumably is the strongest and most able to conjure, to the disclosures that have been made to you over this microphone. It contains some rather venomous adjectives, pertaining to me personally, which I assure you does not disturb me in the slightest. Fact is that counts, and it is the fact in this editorial that we want to examine. The personal invective that an individual is able to hurl at another, is only as good as it is substantiated, and shows nothing more, of course than the personal bias and prejudice of the individual. In any event, let me read the editorial to you.

It is from the Durham Morning Herald, Durham North Carolina, Durham being just 12 miles from the University of North Carolina College town, Chapel Hill, where Dr. Graham presides.

It was published early this week, and it is entitled "Carolinians Quick to Defend President Graham." Here is the text:

"There is a brand of crass stupidity in the energy with which a widely known commentator attempts to muck-rake President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina. North Carolina will still take one Frank Graham in preference to 50 dozen or more Fulton Lewises. Unfortunately, Mr. Lewis, who has some real ability in his field, indulges in the same techniques that made two of his contemporaries among the most detested and distrusted men in the public mind today. They managed, such men as these, to get just enough truth to give fire to their smoke. With every new trick of word and voice, they dinned with faint praise, and insinuate with half truths and sentences that stop before the period is reached. President Graham has been examined and reexamined, by many who have a responsibility for his relationship with important matters in the United States Government. He has been given a stamp of approval by the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Lewis contends, and the reliable New York Times prints the story on the first page, quoting, presumably their "high sources", that the approval of Dr. Graham for the AEC work came against the advice of the Atomic Energy Security Council.

President Truman said that was an error. (Parenthetically, I'd like to interrupt here long enough to call your attention to the fact that that statement is not true. President Truman said nothing of the sort and was not so quoted by any press association. What he did say was that he didn't believe Dr. Graham had been disapproved. That's a far cry from stating flatly that the AEC had NOT disapproved.)

President Truman said that was an error. One of the members intimated that there is lack of wisdom in letting such things become known, and many have contended that such a slanted statement indicates the truth of the statement. (Let me inject here that it was not a member of the commission who said that, but rather it was a member of the Robert's Security Board which disapproved Dr. Graham, and who therefore, certainly ought to know whether the story is true or not.)

A pivot of criticism seems to be that in years past, President Graham has accepted membership and even directorships of certain organizations that have been proved reactionary, to put it mildly, and openly anti-American to put it bluntly. Some of them have been labelled indisputable as communistic.

President Graham has separated himself from all such connections, and there is very reason to believe that he has, and states in unequivocal terms his total loyalty and devotion to the ideals of the United States, from which ideals and qualities he has never diverted and never intends to, that ought to be sufficient for the critics, who have been making much fuss over his liberalism, and his sincere Christian concern for human progress.

It will take more than Fulton Lewis, with his smear tactics, to disrupt the people of North Carolina, overmuch over President Graham, or any of a dozen others like him, who find themselves in the position of being scrutinized by such self-appointed interrogators."

That is the end of the editorial. Now for a few observations.

In the first place, it is no concern to me or to the people of the nation, what the people of North Carolina think one way or the other, of Dr. Graham, as president of the University of North Carolina. They are more than entitled to have him there, if they like him and want him to stay, and to the rest of the nation it's a matter of no interest at all. What is of interest to the nation as a whole is the security of atomic energy secrets, and the steps that are taken to safeguard that information, under instructions by the Congress of the United States, and how well those steps are administered by those who have been entrusted with the atomic secrets. Those secrets belong to the American people, and they have legitimate interest in knowing how the secrecy is being administered.

The editorial says "If President Graham has separated himself from all such connections and there is every reason to believe that he has".....The fact is that Dr. Graham stated in a telegram which I read over this microphone that he has not separated himself from such connections. That is precisely the 64 dollar question. That is what we have been trying to get Dr. Graham to say -- that he disavows these connections and publicly resigns from all of them. Dr. Graham will not say it. He says the opposite. And it certainly is a legitimate interest of the American people to know whether a man who is entrusted with those secrets, still insists upon retaining his membership in organizations that are officially listed as communist or communist front organizations; when we are in a cold war with communism.

One last word. The editorial throws around a lot of words, quite recklessly, about getting just enough truth to give fore to smoke, with tricks of word and voice, damning with faint praise, half truths, and sentences that stop before the period is reached.

I do not know of course, who wrote that editorial, but I hereby publicly challenge the writer of it to specify a single example of any of those things in any of these broadcasts. I want him to send me a telegram quoting the exact spots and I shall be glad to read it to you over this microphone in full. Or if he prefers, he may have this time any night next week over the radio to specifically state these points. It would seem to me time for him either to put up or shut up. That's the top of the news as it looks from here.

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1949

It appears tonight that the full official facts in the case of Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and how and why he was cleared as a security risk for full atomic energy secrets after he had been disapproved by the security officer and the security advisory board of the Atomic Energy Commission, finally will come to light.

The joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, of Congress was scheduled to hold a meeting today, only to have it postponed until Thursday because the House Republicans have not been able to decide who they want to assign to that committee, but I learned that various members of that committee has intended to bring up the Graham case at today's session, and now will do so on Thursday. They said privately that if the facts as they have been reported to the public about the clearance of Dr. Graham are true, the public certainly is entitled to know it, and Congress is entitled to an explanation as to why Mr. Lilienthal and his commission overrode the security officer and the unanimous vote of the security advisory board, to give Dr. Graham the clearance. They said also that an explanation should be made as to why the Commission would give him access to atomic information unless he is willing to publicly resign from and disavow all connection with any organizations that are listed as subversive, communist front, or communist organizations now. They said that regardless of the wisdom and propriety of having joined those organizations in the past, he certainly should not be permitted access to top atomic secrets at the present time, if he still is a member of these organizations and still maintains the connections with the long list of organizations.

Mr. Lilienthal still as of this afternoon, had not replied to the demands of Senator Milliken of Colorado, for a full record on the Graham case, and Senator Ed Johnson of the same state has stated that he intends to insist that the committee investigate the whole affair. The strategy of Mr. Lilienthal's Commission thus far has been to sit tight and say nothing in regard to the charges, in the apparent hope that the matter would be forgotten. This time, that does not work.

I might mention that the editor of the Durham, North Carolina newspaper, whose editorial I read to you on the subject over this microphone last Friday night, still has made no response to my invitation to him, to come on the microphone and substantiate the statements he made in his editorial defending Dr. Graham, so perhaps we'll have to press the invitation further and more formally. I'll tell you more about that tomorrow night. In the meantime, I want to take this opportunity to extend to Dr. Graham himself an invitation to take over this broadcast period or any part of it one night, to answer first hand for you, the public, whether he is willing to make that public resignation from and disavowal of all past and present connections with any and all organizations that are listed as subversive or communist front. Also, if he is unwilling to resign,--why? We certainly want to be entirely fair all around. This is a question of vital concern to the whole American public and it would seem that if Dr. Graham is to be put in a position of such high public trust as this--with the security of the atomic bomb secrets at his fingertips--the public is entitled to know the complete story and exactly where he stands, without equivocation or evasion.

Apparently, the joint committee of Congress thinks so too.

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In Congress today, the Senate Labor Committee met to decide on procedure regarding the proposed repeal or revision of the Taft-Hartley Law, and it voted, on a strict party basis eight to five, to wind up any hearings on the subject by February 10th at which the Republicans immediately revolted with considerable violence. Republican liberal Wayne Morse from Oregon, said the decision was obviously a political gesture; that much more study should be devoted to the subject, and that it really constitutes a disservice to legitimate organized labor. Senator Taft made a similar statement, and so did other Republicans. But the administration leaders have given the orders, and the steamroller has started on its way, and the interesting question now evolves: Will the steamroller be able to accomplish its job, or will it get stalled at the wall of Southern Democratic opposition.

At the House end of the Capitol, the open revolution within the House Labor Committee, over the committee staff appointments which the new chairman, Rep. John Lezinsky of Detroit tried to force through, began to take on some really significant proportions.

The first full meeting of that committee, at which this issue of staff appointments is to come up, is to take place tomorrow morning, and had been scheduled for 11 A.M. Late this afternoon, the meeting hour was changed to 10 A.M., because of the

growing proportions of the internal battle, and the fact that the session obviously would consume a lot more time than the one hour originally allotted.

The great objection thus far on the part of committee members centers around Chairman Lesinski's appointment of former Rep. Frank Hook of Michigan, as counsel for the committee -- Frank Hook, like chairman Lesinski, being a darling and devout follower of the C I O, and particularly the United Auto Workers.

Hook has been in Congress, on and off, since the middle 1930's and by and large has been cordially disliked by a large part of the House membership throughout that period. He ran for the Senate in Michigan at the last election against Senator Homer Ferguson, and was defeated, whereupon his friend, Chairman Lesinski, tried to give him this \$10,500 a year appointment as Labor committee counsel, despite the fact that the law specifically requires that that and all other committee jobs must be made by majority vote of the entire committee.

By way of background on Mr. Hook, he has been involved in various difficulties of one kind or another throughout his very checkered political career. Almost as soon as he came to Washington in 1935, as a new Congressman, he broke unfavorably into the public prints as a result of an incident in a downtown Washington hotel. He was there, attending a banquet which the chairman of the Rules Committee John O'Connor was giving in honor of the new members of Congress, including Mr. Hook, and in the course of the evening, Mr. Hook came upon one of his fellow guests, Rep. Gassoway of Oklahoma, in a corridor, and in the course of fistcuffs knocked Rep. Gassoway down. On another occasion there was an incident of fistcuffs on the House floor, involving Mr. Hook and Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi.

The highlight of his career came, however, in January of 1940, when he made a speech on the House floor, bitterly criticizing the UnAmerican Activities investigating committee, charging that the then chairman, Martin Dies, had made a private deal with William Dudley Pelley, the head of the Silver Shirts of America, by which the committee had agreed to lay off Mr. Pelley and his organization. He introduced into the record a number of letters purporting to be signed by Pelley and addressed to Martin Dies, which went into considerable lengths regarding the supposed agreement. At the time, Mr. Pelley could not be found, and the Committee supposedly was looking for him.

The validity of the letters was immediately challenged, and in the course of a hectic series of developments over a week or more, the committee produced several individuals who blew the Frank Hook story sky high. One, who later was indicted on three counts, for his part in it, -- a man by the name of David Wayne -- finally told the story. He said that a man by the name of Harold Weisberg -- he was an associate of Gardner Jackson and John Mitchell Henshaw, -- had come to him and offered to pay him \$100.00 and get him a job in the Department of Agriculture, if he would produce some documentary evidence to discredit the UnAmerican Activities Committee by purporting to show a tieup between the committee of the committee chairman, and Mr. Pelley or other alleged fascist leaders.

David Wayne frankly admitted that he had manufactured the documents himself, and had forged Pelley's name to them, and had turned them over to Weisberg, who in turn had supplied them to Rep. Frank Hook, who put them in the Congressional Record.

Eventually, Rep. Hook was forced to withdraw the documents from the record, and to apologize for having used them.

One last thing I almost forgot about Rep. Gassoway, who got knocked down in the hall, at the banquet. By strange coincidence, he had a secretary at the time, by the name of John Steed, who happens at the moment to be a Democratic member of this Labor Committee.

The predictions tonight are that Mr. Hook will be defeated in the committee vote tomorrow, with at least five and perhaps seven Democrats joining the Republicans against him.

The Atomic Energy watchdog committee of Congress called in Atomic Energy Commission Chairman David E. Lilienthal, for a hectic and highly critical session, but the excitement this time was not on the subject of Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, but rather on some matters of senior priority.

The battle was precipitated in the committee when the new chairman of the congressional committee, Senator Brian McMahon of Connecticut, proposed that Mr. Lilienthal give consideration to the idea of releasing to the public the number of actual ready-to-drop atomic bombs which we have on hand, in our existing stockpile, as of the present time. His argument was -- and there may be considerable merit in it -- that if atomic bomb production has been rolling at such a great rate as Mr. Lilienthal claims, publicly, we should have a very sizable stock, and it should be a very imposing consideration to any possible international enemies who might be considering an armed attack on us. Meaning, of course, Soviet Russia. And so it might, for that matter. If we actually do have an impressive stockpile of them, it might induce a much more respectful attitude on the part of Soviet Russia, and might even engender a little more cooperation on their part, in the interest of world peace, particularly in view of the fact that all authorities on the atom bomb, and it probably will be a considerable time before she does have.

If Mr. Lilienthal has been talking through his hat, merely trying to build up his own stock in the public mind, and we really do not have any considerable stockpile of the weapons, then certainly the Congressional committee ought to know that and ought to take steps to replace him by somebody else. Chairman McMahon says further that the Congressional Committee, at least, should have the information, so it can have some intelligent idea of what really is needed in the way of appropriations for the future, which likewise makes sense.

Two of Chairman McMahon's fellow Democrats on that committee, however, disagreed with the idea violently, they being Senator Tom Connally of Texas, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland. Senator Connally said that a great deal too much talking has been done already, and he gave Lilienthal a tongue lashing for Mr. Lilienthal's glib and sophomoric braggadocio, in published statements over the last few days, as to what his commission has accomplished, and the fact that they have developed a new and even more powerful atomic bomb than the ones that we have used in the past. Senator Connally said Mr. Lilienthal had no business making such statements, which may be true; and Senator Connally certainly ought to know, because he has quite a reputation for doing precisely that thing. You may recall some of the outbursts in connection with the various international meetings at the close of the war, when he embarrassed the White House and the State Department considerably.

Senator Tydings said that no information of such a nature should be released by the Atomic Energy Commission except with the express approval and sanction of the Army, Navy, Air Forces, and military authorities in general.

And so through a large part of the afternoon the battle raged, Dr. Graham escaping any intensive attention by what you might call default. His day, however, is coming.

In the meantime, there were other battles in other committees, notably the Senate Labor Committee. There, they held up the day's hearings for 40 minutes in a heated argument over the proposal to end the hearings on modification of the Taft Hartley law a week from tomorrow. Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, the chairman of the committee, insists that that be done, and announced yesterday that the committee will begin holding night sessions in order to meet that time schedule. Senator Donnell of Missouri announced rather indignantly at the outset of today's session that he was never consulted about it, and had no inkling of any such plan until he read about it in the newspapers, and Senator Taft said the same thing. They both said that night sessions are too much, and that the frantic rush by the administration to get this legislation through is not necessary and is highly undesirable.

The committee called Secretary of Labor Morris Tobin back to the witness stand today for further cross examination on his proposal to have the Federal Conciliation Service put back under his Labor Department, and he opened with a statement that he was much disturbed at the remarks by Conciliation Service Director Cyrus Ching, made before the committee yesterday, to the effect that many people believe the Labor Department is biased in favor of organized labor, and that to place the service back in the Labor Department would destroy its usefulness. He denied, very piously, that his Department is in the slightest prejudiced, and on the contrary is entirely impartial. At which it might be suggested that all who believe that, stand on their heads.

The fact is that the Labor Department is about as unbiased as Mr. William Green or Mr. Phillip Murray, or Mr. John L. Lewis. It was never intended to be unbiased, from the time it was first set up; it has never been unbiased; it never will be unbiased; and when young Secretary Tobin attempts to seriously tell anybody anything to the contrary, he is insulting the intelligence of the public. He's a very personable young man and I've taken occasion a number of times to report information over this microphone that reflected very high credit for him when he was Mayor of Boston and Governor of Massachusetts. But when he comes forth with the Statement that his Labor department is strictly unbiased in its views and policies on Labor-management relations, it is time to call a halt. And if the contention is going to be continued in the future, we'll just have to go into the subject in detail, and lay on the line for you the chapter and verse of the whole story. Let's not be silly about this thing.

In any event, at the end of the battle, a new vote was taken on the question of when the hearings before the Senate committee are to end, and it was the same old story.. a straight party vote of 5 Democrats against 4 Republicans....and the verdict was February the 10th....one week from tomorrow.

Dunn and Bradstreet, the famous market statisticians, announced for still another occasion today that the weekly index of food prices, as represented by some 37 major staples of everyday living, are still going down, and are now at the lowest level since October 8, 1946, when price control was still in effect. Of course, that is not a very fair figure to use as a comparison, that figure from price control days, because the figure used for that time is merely the price control figure, and it does not accurately represent the bootleg prices, at which these food staples actually were being sold, at all. It only represents the figure at which they ought to have been sold, under the O P A price regulations -- if you could get them.

For what it's worth, however, the price level for these same commodities at that time was \$5.40. Today, it is \$5.88, which is only about 8 per cent higher, and that \$5.88 compares with a price of \$7.16 for the same items just a year ago. The all time high was reached in July of last year, thanks to the government buying for the foreign recovery program, when it hit \$7.36.

Since that peak in July, the weekly index has fallen continuously without missing a single week, through the present time, and there is every evidence that it is going to continue further, in the same direction for an indefinite period.

President Harry Truman, as you probably remember, had his little troubles about a year ago with public opinion, regarding his addition of the now famous balcony on the South portico of the White House, but apparently that was just a minor brush, as compared with what is in store for him, in connection with the proposed remodeling of the White House. Last Saturday, as you probably have heard over your radio news flashes, or through your local newspaper, the news correspondents were taken on a personally conducted tour through the White House and shown what bad condition it is in, and the tremendous amount of work that has to be done. The word was passed around that the remodeling will cost at least 8 million dollars, and possible may run as high as ten million.

Now having had a little experience with home building myself, that figure rather fascinated me, and I began doing some studies on the subject, the results of which you may find interesting, as well as edifying.

In the first place, let me call your attention to the fact that this is not a matter of building a new White House from scratch, with the need of excavating for the basement, and building new side walls, and a new roof. In fact, this does not even include the building of a new top story, because that was done during the Roosevelt administration and that, and the roof, are completely modern, steel-reinforced-fire proof construction. So it's just the first and second floor and the basement that are involved, and just the center section of the White House proper. Neither of the wings are to be touched. Apologists may tell you that remodeling is as expensive as starting from scratch. Generally speaking, that is not so, and I don't believe it. It costs money to build walls, and roofs and outside porticos and whatnot, and when you already have those things in tact, you save the money that you ordinarily would have spent on them. But granted, for the sake of argument, that it will cost the same as a completely new structure, give the thing a little consideration. What sort of a home is an 8 million dollar home? The most profligate and magnificent palaces in Hollywood, California, never cost over a quarter of a million, and you may be abundantly sure that the remodeled White House is not going to be on any scale that surpassed those. Just how could you spend 8 million dollars on a home for anybody? You know what a \$50,000 home is. It should be a very beautiful establishment. You can imagine what you could get in the way of a home, per example, for \$80,000. Well, this little remodeling job which the government is going to do is not going to cost 80 thousand dollars, but eight thousand THOUSAND dollars, and, they explain, even that may not be enough.

Maybe you'd like a few other comparisons. All right.

The magnificent new Statler Hotel in Washington -- probably the most lavish and beautiful hotel in the world, with 850 sleeping rooms and 850 bathrooms, and just one ball room which, in itself is nearly as large as the entire floor plan of the White House -- that cost a little less than 7½ million. They'll tell you the new White House is going to have a lot of bathrooms, and bathrooms are expensive. The Statler Hotel has 850 of them, and it still only cost 7½ million dollars.

Maybe you've heard Mr. Truman's attacks on the building industry on the grounds that their costs are too high, and they are not producing homes that the average man can afford to buy. That has a familiar ring, does it? Well, let's break down the figures a little. The present small home, built with the best conceivable materials comparable to those that would be used in the White House as it is now planned, costs about 80 cents a cubic foot to build. Or rather, that is what it is being sold for, to the public. That includes the builder's profit.

The White House has about 900,000 cubic feet in it, and at \$8,000,000, the remodeling job, along would be at the rate of \$9.00 a cubic foot.

Comes now the question -- is this job going to be let on the basis of competitive bids -- or is it a negotiated contract -- on cost plus fixed fee, and what sort of an audit is there going to be?

EXCERPT FROM BROADCAST OF FULTON LEWIS, JR.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1949

By way of keeping alive the recent case of Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina who was approved recently by the Atomic Energy Commission as a safe security risk, for all atomic information of every kind, I don't want you to think that I've forgotten about that, but it does take time to trace down leads and piece together bits of information, and dig out answers here and there.....we are, however, making progress and there ought to be some very enlightening information available in the very near future. In the meantime, however, there is a bit of specific information which is immediately reportable, and while it does not deal directly with Dr. Graham in person, it does concern him indirectly, in that it serves as a sidelight to his leadership as president of the University of North Carolina, and his administrative philosophy, as reflected in the faculty of that institution, over which, he, of course, has control. In his position as President of the University, he has been made head of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, which is a group of Southern university heads, established to use the words of the Atomic Energy Commission itself, to "assure broad regional participation in the atomic energy educational and training activities centered at Oak Ridge, Tennessee."

I have before me a copy of the official publication of the Communist party of America, dated January the 4th--a week ago today, which carries on page three an article under the headline, "83 Carolina leaders assail trial of 12".

Perhaps I'd better explain that the article is part of a propaganda campaign which the Daily Worker has been carrying on daily, trying to get a dismissal of the indictments against the 12 officials of the communist party, who were indicted by the recent federal grand jury in New York City for conspiring to overthrow the Government. Coincidental with the Daily Worker's campaign, the Civil Rights Congress--cited by Attorney General Tom Clark as being a subversive and communist organization...not communist front, mind you, but communist--has been organizing a two day march and demonstration on Washington, with special train loads of sympathizers from New York, to demonstrate against prosecution of the 12 party officials. (You can imagine, can't you, just how far a project of that kind, on the other side of the fence would get in Soviet Russia, today!) The plans for this trek even include special airplane loads of sympathizers, who --according to some reports--plan to drop propaganda leaflets over the city of Washington.

This article in the Daily Workers tells of a Christmas Holiday message that was published as an advertisement in a Winston Salem, North Carolina newspaper, the publication being paid for by the 83 so-called Carolina leaders, and it quotes the advertisement as follows:

"We are alarmed at the government's indictment for trial of the leaders of the Communist party--not for any specific crime--but for a social theory they are charged with advocating."

Of course, that statement is not true. There is no question of these leaders being tried for social or political beliefs. The social and political and economic beliefs of the Socialist party of the United States are identical with those of the Communist party; and nobody has ever complained about Mr. Norman Thomas; in fact, he is generally regarded as a great and upstanding American. The difference lies in the fact that the socialist party proposes to accomplish its purpose by peaceful means at the ballot box. The communist party proposes to accomplish its purpose by peaceful means at the ballot box. The Communist party proposes to accomplish its ends by force, violence, cheating, lying and physical overthrow of the government. It is that difference that is the reason for the indictment of these 12 individuals--not their political, social or economic views.

Now back to the article. Included among the 83 signers of the petition are 12 members of the faculty of Dr. Frank P. Graham's University of North Carolina--three of them listed as members of the department of physics, and one listed from the department of chemistry.

EXCERPT FROM BROADCAST OF FULTON LEWIS, JR.

WEDNESDAY, January 12, 1949

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee tomorrow morning begins open hearings on President Harry Truman's nomination of Mr. Dean Acheson to be Secretary of State, in an atmosphere of increasing public and Congressional criticism of Mr. Acheson's associations and expressions of policy in the past, not to mention the activities of his law firm in drawing fees for representing foreign governments in business transactions with the United States Government, while Mr. Acheson was sitting in the powerful job of Under-secretary of State, and frequently, acting Secretary of State.

Into the Capitol is rolling an increasing flood of mail from constituents back home, criticising the appointment of Mr. Acheson and demanding a complete and searching investigation of his past activities, before there is any question of his being confirmed for the job.

Mr. Acheson was assistant secretary of State from 1941 through 1945 and under-Secretary until June 1947, and when he went into that job, he selected as his executive assistant Mr. Alger Hiss, named by Whittaker Chambers as the individual who supplied him with confidential State Department papers, to be transmitted to the Soviet Russian Government. He also took Alger Hiss' brother, Donald Hiss, into his law firm-- Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb-- and it was Donald Hiss, in the Acheson Law Firm, who admittedly handled the legal affairs of the Communist government of Poland in Washington, when that government was obtaining \$90,000,000 in loans from the United States Government. At that time, Mr. Acheson was Under-secretary of State, and had temporarily become inactive with the law firm, but the letterhead of the firm continued nevertheless to carry his name, Acheson, in large type at the top of its stationery. The Polish loans thus obtained with the help of the law firm, were made by the State Department over the vigorous and repeated protests of the then American Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane.

The records of the Department of Justice show that the first connection with the Polish government was not registered in the firm name of Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb, but rather in the name of Edward Burling and Donald Hiss. The same process was followed in the case of the government of Iran, which the law firm also represented along with several other foreign governments. However there seems to be no question but that the firm AS SUCH was officially representing these governments, because letters in the hands of members of the Foreign Relations Committee so state. For example, in connection with the Iranian Government, there is a letter signed by an individual in the law firm, registered as representing Iran, which begins--"Our firm is representing the government of Iran in this matter."

The facts concerning this Polish case are among the answers that Mr. Acheson will be called upon to provide tomorrow when he takes the stand as the first witness -- including, of course, the question as to whether he received any share in the fees which his firm received from these foreign accounts--and there are numerous other questions to be answered as well. For one thing, the record shows that on November 14th, 1945, Mr. Acheson appeared on the platform as one of the principle speakers in Madison Square Garden, New York, together with the Red Dean of Canterbury, then visiting the United States, and the charge d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy here, and Mr. Joseph E. Davies, apologist of Soviet Russia and author of the book Mission to Moscow. The meeting was sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, which organization is listed officially by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive and Communist organization. Mr. Acheson was Under-secretary of State at the time, and his address was an appeal for cooperation between Russia and the United States.

"At the time the Polish loans were approved in 1946, Mr. Acheson, as Under-secretary of State, issued a statement as follows--and remember that this is the Communist government of Poland he was talking about:

The government of the United States, desirous of aiding the people of Poland in their efforts to repair war damages and to reconstruct the Polish Economy, expresses its satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the negotiations concerning the opening of credits of \$40,000,000 to the provisional government of Poland by the Export-Import bank of Washington, D. C., and the satisfactory conclusion of arrangements for extending credits up to \$50,000,000 for the purchase by Poland of United States surplus property held abroad."

Those, of course, are the loans to which I just referred, the ones which were

best copy available

Thereupon the matter went to the so-called Roberts Board, the Personnel Security Advisory Board which I mentioned a few moments ago, and there, a special sub-committee was appointed to handle the case, headed by Mr. George W. Humphrey.

Then May 28th last, the Roberts Board held a meeting to consider the case of Dr. Graham, among other things, and in the morning session the Humphrey report on the gentleman was read in full and considered. Two members of the commission were not present but did put in an appearance after luncheon, at which time the whole matter was gone over again in full. After a thorough discussion the five members of the Roberts Board voted unanimously to turn down the security approval for Dr. Graham on the grounds that they did not consider him a safe risk.

At that point, Mr. David Lilienthal, the head of the commission, and his general manager, Mr. Carroll Wilson, who had come into the meeting, expressed great concern and alarm over the board's action, explaining that this would be very embarrassing, because Dr. Graham already had been installed as head of the Oak Ridge Institute, and to disapprove him would create an uncomfortable situation. He proposed that the committee compromise by giving Dr. Graham a qualified and partial clearance. Mr. Humphrey objected to that, calling the attention of Mr. Lilienthal and Mr. Wilson to the fact that on previous occasions they themselves had said that a limited clearance is impractical; that it has to be all or nothing. Thereupon, Mr. Lilienthal requested the board to withdraw any formal action of an unfavorable nature at that time, and give him further time to look into and study the matter.

That was the last time the matter was discussed by the Roberts Board. Just before Christmas the COMMISSION, headed by Mr. Lilienthal, announced that it had cleared Dr. Graham as a security risk, on the announcement which I reported to you at the time.

The Roberts Board and the Commission security officer, to this date, have never approved Dr. Graham.